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THE WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

VOLUME IV

The MC Co.

THE WRITINGS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

COLLECTED AND EDITED

WITH A LIFE AND INTRODUCTION

BY

ALBERT HENRY SMYTH

VOLUME IV

1760–1766

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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PREFATORY NOTE

SEVERAL letters from Franklin to William Strahan included in this volume were copied by permission from the private collection of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania. Since these pages were printed the books and papers relating to Benjamin Franklin, collected by Governor Pennypacker, have been sold, and the Franklin-Strahan correspondence is now the property of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan.

Several letters and articles contributed by Franklin to London newspapers in 1765 and 1766, relating to the Stamp Act, are here for the first time reprinted. Franklin's declaration that he was the author of these articles exists in the Library of Congress (Stevens Collection, No. 170).

Certain marginal notes scribbled by Franklin in various pamphlets, formerly in the Athenæum Library of Philadelphia, and now in the Lenox Library, New York, have been included hitherto among the works of Franklin. They concern taxation, the right of impressing seamen, the prerogatives of Parliament, etc. They are crude and fragmentary, and were never intended for publication. Whatever is valuable among them will be found in the final volume of this edition; all other marginalia are omitted.

A. H. S.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. P. S.	American Philosophical Society.
B. M.	British Museum.
B. N.	Bibliothèque Nationale.
D. S. W.	Department of State, Washington.
H.	Harvard University.
L. C.	Library of Congress.
L. L.	Lenox Library.
Lans.	Lansdowne House.
M. H. S.	Massachusetts Historical Society.
P. C.	Private Collection.
P. H. S.	Pennsylvania Historical Society.
P. R. O.	Public Record Office.
P. R. O. A. W. I.	Public Record Office: America and West Indies.
P. A. E. E. U.	Paris Departement des Affaires Etrangères, — Etats-Unis.
U. of P.	University of Pennsylvania.
Y.	Yale University.
B.	Bigelow.
F.	Benjamin Franklin.
S.	Sparks.
V.	Benjamin Vaughan.
W. T. F.	W. T. Franklin.

Franklin's Mss. exist in several forms. He made a rough draft of every letter that he wrote; he then made a clean copy to send away, and often retained a letter-press copy. To indicate the state of the document, the following abbreviations are used: d. = draft, trans. = transcript, l. p. = letter-press copy.

278. TO SIR ALEXANDER DICK[1] (L. L.)

London, Jan. 3, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

After we took leave of you, we spent some Weeks in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, and at length arriv'd at our House here in good health, having made a Tour of nearly 1500 Miles, in which we had enjoy'd a great deal of Pleasure, and receiv'd a great deal of useful Information. —

But no part of our Journey affords us, on Recollection a more pleasing Remembrance, than that which relates to Scotland, particularly the time we so agreably spent with you,[2] your Friends and Family. The many Civilities, Favours and Kindnesses heap'd upon us while we were among you, have made the most lasting Impression on our Minds, and have endear'd that Country to us beyond Expression.

I hope Lady Dick[3] continues well and chearful. Be pleased to present my most respectful Complim^ts and assure her I have great Faith in her parting Prayers, that the Purse she honour'd me with will never be quite empty. —

I inclose you one of our Philadelphia Newspapers supposing it may give you and my good Lord Provost some Pleasure,

[1] Sir Alexander Dick (1703–1785), student of medicine at Edinburgh and Leyden, President of the College of Physicians, Edinburgh. He promoted the establishment of a medical school in the Royal Infirmary. — ED.

[2] At Prestonfield, at the foot of Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh. — ED.

[3] Sarah, daughter of Alexander Dick, merchant of Edinburgh. — ED.

to see that we have imitated the Edinburgh Institution of an Infirmary in that remote Part of the World. Thus they that do good, not only do good themselves, but by their Example are the Occasion of much Good being done by others. Pray present my best Respects to his Lordship, for whom if I had not a very great Esteem, I find I should be extreamly singular. — You will see in the same Paper an Advertisement of the Acting of Douglas,[1] one of your Scottish Tragedies, at our Theatre, which may show the regard we have for your Writers. — And as I remember to have heard some Complaints from Persons in Edinburgh that their Letters to their Friends in America, did not get regularly to hand, I take the Liberty to send you another Paper, in which you will see the careful Method they take in those Countries, to advertise the Letters that remain in the Post Office; I think it is generally done every Quarter. By that List of Names, too, you may form some Judgment of the Proportion of North Britons in America, which I think you once enquir'd about.

My Son joins in the sincerest Wishes of Happiness to you & all yours, and in the Compliments of the Season, with

Dear Sir
Your most obliged, & most
obedient humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN

Please to acqu[t] honest Pythagoras that I have not forgot what he desired of me, & that he shall hear from me soon —

[1] "At the Theatre, on Society Hill, on Friday Evening, the Seventh instant, will be presented (by particular Desire) DOUGLASS. Tickets to be had of Mr. Dunlap. Box 7s 6d, Pit 5[s], Gallery 3s." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 6, 1759. — ED.

279. TO LORD KAMES[1]

London, January 3. 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

You have been pleased kindly to desire to have all my publications. I had daily expectations of procuring some of them from a friend to whom I formerly sent them, when I was in America, and postponed writing to you, till I should obtain them; but at length he tells me he cannot find them. Very mortifying this to an author, that his works should so soon be lost! So I can now only send you my *Observations on the Peopling of Countries*, which happens to have been reprinted here; *The Description of the Pennsylvania Fire-place*, a machine of my contriving; and some little sketches that have been printed in the *Grand Magazine*,[2] which I should hardly own, did I not know that your friendly partiality would make them seem at least tolerable.

How unfortunate I was, that I did not press you and Lady Kames[3] more strongly to favour us with your company farther. How much more agreeable would our journey have been, if we could have enjoyed you as far as York. We could have beguiled the way, by discoursing of a thousand things, that now we may never have an opportunity of considering together; for conversation warms the mind, enlivens the

[1] From "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames" (Edinburgh, 1807). Vol. I, p. 263.

Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), a judge of the Court of Session; author of "Elements of Criticism" (1762), "Sketches of the History of Man" (1773), and "An Introduction to the Art of Thinking" (1761). — ED.

[2] The *Gentleman's Magazine*. — ED.

[3] Agatha Drummond. — ED.

imagination, and is continually starting fresh game, that is immediately pursued and taken, and which would never have occurred in the duller intercourse of epistolary correspondence. So that whenever I reflect on the great pleasure and advantage I received from the free communication of sentiment, in the conversations we had at Kames, and in the agreeable little rides to the Tweed side, I shall for ever regret our premature parting.

No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion, that the *foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America;* and though, like other foundations, they are low and little seen, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure human wisdom ever yet erected. I am therefore by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world! If the French remain in Canada, they will continually harass our colonies by the Indians, and impede if not prevent their growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may for ever prevent it. But I refrain, for I see you begin to think my notions extravagant, and look upon them as the ravings of a mad prophet.

Your Lordship's kind offer of Penn's picture is extremely

obliging.[1] But were it certainly his picture, it would be too valuable a curiosity for me to think of accepting it. I should only desire the favour of leave to take a copy of it. I could wish to know the history of the picture before it came into your hands, and the grounds for supposing it his. I have at present some doubts about it; first, because the primitive Quakers used to declare against pictures as a vain expence; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride; and I think to this day it is very little practised among them. Then, it is on a board; and I imagine the practice of painting portraits on boards, did not come down so low as Penn's time; but of this I am not certain. My other reason is, an anecdote I have heard, viz. That when old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens at Stowe with the busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family, for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none: That Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little bust of him in ivory,

[1] Nothing is known of this portrait. Tytler says that it was sent to Franklin, and never returned. The most authentic likeness of Penn is that referred to in the letter as an ivory medallion by Sylvanus Bevan. An engraving of it by Smithers appeared in the *Universal Magazine*, January 2, 1797, with the printed note: "Esteemed by R. Penn a good likeness." Robert Proud was in England in 1750, and stayed with Bevan. He says: "The likeness is a real and true one, as I have been informed, not only by himself (S. B.), but also by the old men in England of the first character in the Society of Friends who knew him in their youth" (Watson's "Annals," 1844, p. 111). This ivory carving was bequeathed to Paul Bevan, of Tottenham, from whom it descended to his grandson, Alfred Waterhouse, and is now in the possession of Paul Bevan, of London. — ED.

which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my Lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it, immediately cried out, "Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!" And from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed.

I doubt, too, whether the whisker was not quite out of use at the time when Penn must have been of an age appearing in the face of that picture. And yet, notwithstanding these reasons, I am not without some hope that it may be his; because I know some eminent Quakers have had their pictures privately drawn and deposited with trusty friends; and I know also that there is extant at Philadelphia a very good picture of Mrs. Penn, his last wife. After all, I own I have a strong desire to be satisfied concerning this picture; and as Bevan is yet living here, and some other old Quakers that remember William Penn, who died but in 1718, I would wish to have it sent to me carefully packed up in a box by the waggon, (for I would not trust it by sea), that I may obtain their opinion. The charges I shall very cheerfully pay; and if it proves to be Penn's picture, I shall be greatly obliged to your Lordship for leave to take a copy of it, and will carefully return the original.

My son joins with me in the most respectful compliments to you and to lady Kames. Our conversation till we came to York, was chiefly a recollection of what we had seen and heard, the pleasure we had enjoyed, and the kindnesses we had received in Scotland, and how far that country had exceeded our expectations. On the whole, I must say, I think the time we spent there, was six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have met with in any part of my life: and the agreeable and instructive society we found there in such plenty, has left

so pleasing an impression on my memory, that did not strong connexions draw me elsewhere, I believe Scotland would be the country I should choose to spend the remainder of my days in. I have the honour to be, with the sincerest esteem and affection, my dear Lord, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

---

280. TO JOHN HUGHES[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Jan. 7. 1760.

DEAR SIR,

On my Return from our Northern Journey, I found several of your obliging Favours; and have now before me those of June 20, July 4, 25, Aug. 9, 22, 23, Sept. 25, and two of Oct. 3, for which please to accept my hearty Thanks. I congratulate you on the glorious Successes of the Year past. There has been for some time a Talk of Peace, and probably we should have had one this Winter, if the King of Prussia's late Misfortunes[2] had not given the Enemy fresh Spirits, and encourag'd them to try their Luck another Campaign, and exert all their remaining Strength, that if possible they might treat with Hanover in their Hands. If this should be the Case, possibly most of our Advantages may be given up again at the Treaty, and some among our great Men begin already to prepare the Minds of People for this, by discoursing, that to keep Canada would draw on us the Envy of other

[1] John Hughes, stamp officer (1711–1772), stamp distributor for Pennsylvania, and the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. He held the office of Collector of Customs for the Colonies from September 4, 1769, until his death. His will, dated January 31, 1772, describes him as late of the Province of Pennsylvania, but now collector of his Majesty's Customs at Charles-Town in South Carolina. — ED.

[2] Kunersdorf, August 12, 1759. — ED.

Powers, and occasion a Confederacy against us; that the Country is too large for us to people; not worth possessing, and the like. These Notions I am every day and every where combating, and I think not without some Success. The Event God only knows. The Argument that seems to have principal Weight is, that, in Case of another War, if we keep Possession of Canada, the Nation will save two or three Millions a Year, now spent in defending the American Colonies, and be so much the stronger in Europe, by the Addition of the Troops now employ'd on that Side of the Water. To this I add, that the Colonies would thrive and increase in a much greater Degree, and that a vast additional Demand would arise for British Manufactures, to supply so great an Extent of Indian Country, etc., with many other Topics, which I urge occasionally, according to the Company I happen into, or the Persons I address. And on the whole, I flatter myself that my being here at this time may be of some Service to the general Interest of America.

The Acts of the last Year have all come to hand, but not all in a Condition proper to be laid before the King for his Approbation, as the Governor's propos'd Amendments are tack'd to 'em, and no Distinction which were agreed to, or whether any or none; so that, in some of the most material Acts, there is no Ascertaining what is intended to be Law and what not. This Mistake was fallen into, I suppose, from the late Practice of sending home the Bills refus'd by the Governor, with his propos'd Amendments, certify'd by the Clerk of the House and under the Great Seal, that the true State of such refus'd Bills might be known here. But when Bills are pass'd into Laws, the Copies to be sent here should be taken from the Rolls Office after the Laws are deposited there, and certify'd by the

Master of the Rolls to be true Copies; and then the Governor, under the Great Seal, certifys that the Master of the Rolls is such an Officer, and that Credit ought to be given to his Certificate; or otherwise, that those Copies are true Copies, agreable to the Laws passed by him as Governor. But the Certificate with these Laws only expresses, that such Bills were sent up to him for his Assent on such a Day; that he propos'd the annex'd Amendments on such a Day, and on such a Day he pass'd the Bills, without saying a Word whether the Amendments were agreed to or not. Indeed by that Part of the Minutes of March and April which came ——[1]

---

281. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, March 5. 1760

MY DEAR CHILD,

I receiv'd the Enclos'd some time since from Mr. Strahan. I afterwards spent an Evening in Conversation with him on the Subject. He was very urgent with me to stay in England and prevail with you to remove hither with Sally. He propos'd several advantageous Schemes to me, which appear'd reasonably founded. His Family is a very agreable one; Mrs. Strahan a sensible and good Woman, the Children of amiable Characters, and particularly the young Man, [who is] sober, ingenious, and industrious, and a [desirable] Person. In Point of Circumstances there can be no Objection; Mr. Strahan being [now] living a Way as to lay up a Thousand Pounds every Year from the Profits of his Business, after maintaining his Family and paying all Charges. I gave him,

[1] The remainder of the letter is lost. — ED.

however, two Reasons why I could not think of removing hither. One, my Affection to Pensilvania, and long established Friendships and other connections there: The other, your invincible Aversion to crossing the Seas. And without removing hither, I could not think of parting with my Daughter to such a Distance. I thank'd him for the Regard shown us in the Proposal; but gave him no Expectation that I should forward the Letters. So you are at liberty to answer or not, as you think proper. Let me however know your Sentiments. You need not deliver the Letter to Sally, if you do not think it proper.

My best Respects to Mr. Hughes, Mr. Bartram, and all enquiring Friends. I am, your ever loving Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I have wrote several Letters to you lately, but can now hardly tell by what Ships.

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282. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, May 1, 1760.

I embrace, most gladly, my dear Friend's Proposal of a Subject for our future Correspondence; not only as it will occasion my hearing from her more frequently, but as it will lay me under a Necessity of improving my own Knowledge, that I may be better able to assist in her Improvement. I only fear my necessary Business and Journeys, with the natural Indolence of an old Man, will make me too unpunctual a Correspondent. For this I must hope some Indulgence.

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

But why will you, by the Cultivation of your Mind, make yourself still more amiable, and a more desirable Companion for a Man of Understanding, when you are determin'd, as I hear, to live single? If we enter, as you propose, into *moral* as well as natural Philosophy, I fancy, when I have fully establish'd my Authority as a Tutor, I shall take upon me to lecture you a little on that Chapter of Duty.

But to be serious. Our easiest Method of Proceeding I think will be, for you to read some Books that I may recommend to you; and, in the Course of your Reading, whatever occurs, that you do not thoroughly apprehend, or that you clearly conceive and find Pleasure in, may occasion either some Questions for further Information, or some Observations that show how far you are satisfy'd and pleas'd with your Author. These will furnish Matter for your Letters to me, and, in consequence of mine also to you.

Let me know, then, what Books you have already perus'd on the Subject intended, that I may the better judge what to advise for your next Reading. And believe me ever, my dear good Girl, your affectionate Friend and Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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283. TO LORD KAMES[1]

London, May 3, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have endeavoured to comply with your request in writing something on the present situation of our affairs in America, in order to give more correct notions of the British interest

[1] From "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames," Vol. I, p. 268. — ED.

with regard to the colonies, than those I found many sensible men possessed of. Inclosed you have the production, such as it is. I wish it may in any degree be of service to the public. I shall at least hope this from it, for my own part, that you will consider it as a letter from me to you, and take its length as some excuse for being so long a-coming.[1]

I am now reading with great pleasure and improvement your excellent work, *The Principles of Equity*. It will be of the greatest advantage to the Judges in our colonies, not only in those which have Courts of Chancery, but also in those which, having no such courts, are obliged to mix equity with the common law. It will be of more service to the colony Judges, as few of them have been bred to the law. I have sent a book to a particular friend, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania.

I will shortly send you a copy of the Chapter you are pleased to mention in so obliging a manner; and shall be extremely obliged in receiving a copy of the collection of *Maxims for the Conduct of Life*, which you are preparing for the use of your children. I purpose likewise a little work for the benefit of youth, to be called *The Art of Virtue*. From the title I think you will hardly conjecture what the nature of such a book may be. I must therefore explain it a little. Many people lead bad lives that would gladly lead good ones, but know not *how* to make the change. They have frequently *resolved* and *endeavoured* it; but in vain, because their endeavours have not been properly conducted. To expect people to be good, to be just, to be temperate, &c., without *shewing* them *how* they should *become* so, seems like the

[1] This was probably the tract, entitled "The Interest of Great Britain Considered." — ED.

ineffectual charity mentioned by the Apostle, which consisted in saying to the hungry, the cold, and the naked, "Be ye fed, be ye warmed, be ye clothed," without shewing them how they should get food, fire, or clothing.

Most people have naturally *some* virtues, but none have naturally *all* the virtues. To *acquire* those that are wanting, and secure what we acquire, as well as those we have naturally, is the subject of *an art*. It is as properly an art as painting, navigation, or architecture. If a man would become a painter, navigator, or architect, it is not enough that he is *advised* to be one, that he is *convinced* by the arguments of his adviser, that it would be for his advantage to be one, and that he resolves to be one, but he must also be taught the principles of the art, be shewn all the methods of working, and how to acquire the habits of using properly all the instruments; and thus regularly and gradually he arrives, by practice, at some perfection in the art. If he does not proceed thus, he is apt to meet with difficulties that discourage him, and make him drop the pursuit.

My *Art of Virtue* has also its instruments, and teaches the manner of using them. Christians are directed to have faith in Christ, as the effectual means of obtaining the change they desire. It may, when sufficiently strong, be effectual with many: for a full opinion, that a Teacher is infinitely wise, good, and powerful, and that he will certainly reward and punish the obedient and disobedient, must give great weight to his precepts, and make them much more attended to by his disciples. But many have this faith in so weak a degree, that it does not produce the effect. Our *Art of Virtue* may, therefore, be of great service to those whose faith is unhappily not so strong, and may come in aid of its weakness. Such as are

naturally well disposed, and have been so carefully educated, as that good habits have been early established, and bad ones prevented, have less need of this art; but all may be more or less benefited by it. It is, in short, to be adapted for universal use. I imagine what I have now been writing will seem to savour of great presumption: I must therefore speedily finish my little piece, and communicate the manuscript to you, that you may judge whether it is possible to make good such pretensions. I shall at the same time hope for the benefit of your corrections. I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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284. TO PETER FRANKLIN[1]

London, May 7, 1760.

SIR

—— It has, indeed, as you observe, been the opinion of some very great naturalists, that the sea is salt only from the dissolution of mineral or rock salt, which its waters happened to meet with. But this opinion takes it for granted that all water was originally fresh, of which we can have no proof. I own I am inclined to a different opinion, and rather think all the water on this globe was originally salt, and that the fresh water we find in springs and rivers, is the produce of distillation. The sun raises the vapours from the sea, which form clouds, and fall in rain upon the land, and springs and rivers are formed of that rain. As to the rock salt found in mines, I conceive, that instead of communicating its saltness to the

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 379. Peter Franklin, second son of Josiah Franklin and Abiah Folger, born November 22, 1692, lived at Newport, Rhode Island. — ED.

sea, it is itself drawn from the sea, and that of course the sea is now fresher than it was originally. This is only another effect of nature's distillery,.and might be performed various ways.

It is evident from the quantities of sea-shells, and the bones and teeth of fishes found in high lands, that the sea has formerly covered them. Then, either the sea has been higher than it now is, and has fallen away from those high lands; or they have been lower than they are, and were lifted up out of the water to their present height, by some internal mighty force, such as we still feel some remains of, when whole continents are moved by earthquakes. In either case it may be supposed that large hollows, or valleys among hills, might be left filled with sea-water, which evaporating, and the fluid part drying away in a course of years, would leave the salt covering the bottom; and that salt, coming afterwards to be covered with earth from the neighbouring hills, could only be found by digging through that earth. Or, as we know from their effects, that there are deep fiery caverns under the earth, and even under the sea, if at any time the sea leaks into any of them, the fluid parts of the water must evaporate from that heat, and pass off through some volcano, while the salt remains, and by degrees, and continual accretion, becomes a great mass. Thus the cavern may at length be filled, and the volcano connected with it cease burning, as many it is said have done; and future miners, penetrating such cavern, find what we call a salt-mine. This is a fancy I had on visiting the salt-mines at *Northwich*, with my son. I send you a piece of the rock salt which he brought up with him out of the mine. . . . I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

285. TO ALEXANDER SMALL[1]

May 12, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

Agreeable to your request, I send you my reasons for thinking that our NorthEast storms in *North America* begin first, in point of time, in the SouthWest parts: That is to say, the air in *Georgia*, the farthest of our colonies to the SouthWest, begins to move SouthWesterly before the air of *Carolina*, which is the next colony NorthEastward; the air of *Carolina* has the same motion before the air of *Virginia*, which lies still more NorthEastward; and so on NorthEasterly through *Pensylvania*, *New-York*, *New-England*, &c., quite to *Newfoundland*.

These NorthEast storms are generally very violent, continue sometimes two or three days, and often do considerable damage in the harbours along the coast. They are attended with thick clouds and rain.

What first gave me this idea, was the following circumstance. About twenty years ago, a few more or less, I cannot from my memory be certain, we were to have an eclipse of the moon at *Philadelphia*, on a *Friday* evening, about nine o'clock. I intended to observe it, but was prevented by a NorthEast storm, which came on about seven, with thick clouds as usual, that quite obscured the whole hemisphere. Yet when the post brought us the *Boston* newspaper, giving an account of the effects of the same storm in those parts, I

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 381. Dr. Small was an army surgeon, and a member of the Society of Arts. In 1760 he was in London. — ED.

found the beginning of the eclipse had been well observed there, though *Boston* lies N. E. of *Philadelphia* about 400 miles. This puzzled me because the storm began with us so soon as to prevent any observation, and being a N. E. storm, I imagined it must have begun rather sooner in places farther to the NorthEastward than it did at *Philadelphia.* I therefore mentioned it in a letter to my brother, who lived at *Boston;* and he informed me the storm did not begin with them till near eleven o'clock, so that they had a good observation of the eclipse: And upon comparing all the other accounts I received from the several colonies, of the time of beginning of the same storm, and, since that of other storms of the same kind, I found the beginning to be always later the farther NorthEastward. I have not my notes with me here in *England,* and cannot, from memory, say the proportion of time to distance, but I think it is about an hour to every hundred miles.[1]

From thence I formed an idea of the cause of these storms, which I would explain by a familiar instance or two. Suppose a long canal of water stopp'd at the end by a gate. The water is quite at rest till the gate is open, then it begins to move out through the gate; the water next the gate is first in motion, and moves towards the gate; the water next to that first water moves next, and so on successively, till the water at the head of the canal is in motion, which is last of all. In this case all the water moves indeed towards the gate, but the successive times of beginning motion are the contrary way, *viz.* from the gate backwards to the head of the canal. Again, suppose the air in a chamber at rest, no current through the room till you make a fire in the chimney. Immediately

[1] See Introduction, Vol. I, pp. 57–58. — ED.

the air in the chimney, being rarefied by the fire, rises; the air next the chimney flows in to supply its place, moving towards the chimney; and, in consequence, the rest of the air successively, quite back to the door. Thus to produce our NorthEast storms, I suppose some great heat and rarefaction of the air in or about the Gulph of *Mexico;* the air thence rising has its place supplied by the next more northern, cooler, and therefore denser and heavier, air; that, being in motion, is followed by the next more northern air, &c. &c., in a successive current, to which current our coast and inland ridge of mountains give the direction of NorthEast, as they lie N. E. and S. W.

This I offer only as an hypothesis to account for this particular fact; and, perhaps, on farther examination, a better and truer may be found. I do not suppose all storms generated in the same manner. Our NorthWest thunder-gusts in *America* I know are not; but of them I have written my opinion fully in a paper which you have seen. I am, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

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286. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (L. C.) (P. C.)

Craven Street, May 17, 1760.

I send my good Girl the Books I mention'd to her last Night. I beg her to accept them as a small Mark of my Esteem and Friendship. They are written in the familiar, easy Manner, for which the French are so remarkable; and afford a good deal of philosophic and practical Knowledge, unem-

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D.; imperfect trans. in L. C. — ED.

barras'd with the dry Mathematics us'd by more exact Reasoners, but which is apt to discourage young Beginners.

I would advise you to read with a Pen in your Hand, and enter in a little Book short Hints of what you find that is curious, or that may be useful; for this will be the best Method of imprinting such Particulars in your Memory, where they will be ready, either for Practice on some future Occasion, if they are Matters of Utility, or at least to adorn and improve your Conversation, if they are rather Points of Curiosity. And, as many of the Terms of Science are such as you cannot have met with in your common Reading and may therefore be unacquainted with, I think it would be well for you to have a good Dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you meet with a Word you do not comprehend the precise Meaning of. This may at first seem troublesome and interrupting; but 'tis a Trouble that will daily diminish, as you will daily find less and less Occasion for your Dictionary, as you become more acquainted with the Terms; and in the mean time you will read with more Satisfaction, because with more Understanding.

When any Point occurs, in which you would be glad to have farther Information than your Book affords you, I beg you would not in the least apprehend, that I should think it a Trouble to receive and answer your Questions. It will be a Pleasure, and no Trouble. For tho' I may not be able, out of my own little Stock of Knowledge, to afford you what you require, I can easily direct you to the Books, where it may most readily be found. Adieu, and believe me ever, my dear Friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

287. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, June 11, 1760.

DEAR POLLY:

'Tis a very sensible Question you ask, how the Air can affect the Barometer, when its Opening appears covered with Wood? If indeed it was so closely covered as to admit of no Communication of the outward Air to the Surface of the Mercury, the Change of Weight in the Air could not possibly affect it. But the least Crevice is sufficient for the Purpose; a Pinhole will do the Business. And if you could look behind the Frame to which your Barometer is fixed, you would certainly find some small Opening.

There are indeed some Barometers in which the Body of Mercury at the lower End is contain'd in a close Leather Bag, and so the Air cannot come into immediate Contact with the Mercury; yet the same Effect is produc'd. For, the Leather being flexible, when the Bag is press'd by any additional Weight of Air, it contracts, and the Mercury is forced up into the Tube; when the Air becomes lighter, and its Pressure less, the Weight of the Mercury prevails, and it descends again into the Bag.

Your Observation on what you have lately read concerning Insects is very just and solid. Superficial Minds are apt to despise those who make that Part of the Creation their Study, as mere Triflers; but certainly the World has been much oblig'd to them. Under the Care and Management of Man, the Labours of the little Silkworm afford Employment and Subsistence to Thousands of Families, and become an im-

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

mense Article of Commerce. The Bee, too, yields us its delicious Honey, and its Wax useful to a Multitude of Purposes. Another Insect, it is said, produces the Cochineal, from whence we have our rich Scarlet Dye. The Usefulness of the Cantharides, or Spanish Flies, in Medicine, is known to all, and Thousands owe their Lives to that Knowledge. By human Industry and Observation, other Properties of other Insects may possibly be hereafter discovered, and of equal Utility. A thorough Acquaintance with the Nature of these little Creatures may also enable Mankind to prevent the Increase of such as are noxious, or secure us against the Mischiefs they occasion. These Things doubtless your Books make mention of: I can only add a particular late Instance which I had from a Swedish Gentleman of good Credit. In the green Timber, intended for Ship-building at the King's Yards in that Country, a kind of Worms were found, which every year became more numerous and more pernicious, so that the Ships were greatly damag'd before they came into Use. The King sent Linnæus, the great Naturalist, from Stockholm, to enquire into the Affair, and see if the Mischief was capable of any Remedy. He found, on Examination, that the Worm was produced from a small Egg, deposited in the little Roughnesses on the Surface of the Wood, by a particular kind of Fly or Beetle; from whence the Worm, as soon as it was hatched, began to eat into the Substance of the Wood, and after some time came out again a Fly of the Parent kind, and so the Species increased. The season in which this Fly laid its Eggs, Linnæus knew to be about a Fortnight (I think) in the Month of May, and at no other time of the Year. He therefore advis'd, that, some Days before that Season, all the green Timber should be thrown

into the Water, and kept under Water till the Season was over. Which being done by the King's Order, the Flies missing their usual Nests, could not increase; and the Species was either destroy'd or went elsewhere; and the Wood was effectually preserved; for, after the first Year, it became too dry and hard for their purpose.

There is, however, a prudent Moderation to be used in Studies of this kind. The Knowledge of Nature may be ornamental, and it may be useful; but if, to attain an Eminence in that, we neglect the Knowledge and Practice of essential Duties, we deserve Reprehension. For there is no Rank in Natural Knowledge of equal Dignity and Importance with that of being a good Parent, a good Child, a good Husband or Wife, a good Neighbour or Friend, a good Subject or Citizen, that is, in short, a good Christian. Nicholas Gimcrack, therefore, who neglected the Care of his Family, to pursue Butterflies, was a just Object of Ridicule, and we must give him up as fair Game to the satyrist.

Adieu, my dear Friend, and believe me ever

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN

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288. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, June 27, 1760.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I wrote a Line to you by the Pacquet, to let you know we were well, and I promis'd to write you fully by Capt. Budden, and answer all your Letters, which I accordingly now sit down to do. I am concern'd that so much Trouble should be given you by idle Reports concerning me. Be satisfied, my dear,

that while I have my Senses, and God vouchsafes me his Protection, I shall do nothing unworthy the Character of an honest Man, and one that loves his Family.

I have not yet seen Mr. Beatty, nor do I know where to write to him. He forwarded your Letter to me from Ireland. The Paragraph of your Letter inserted in the Papers, related to the Negro School. I gave it to the Gentlemen concern'd, as it was a Testimony in favour of their pious Design. But I did not expect they would have printed it with your Name. They have since chosen [me] one of the Society, and I am at present Chairman for the current year. I enclose you an Account of their Proceedings.[1]

I did not receive the *Prospect of Quebec*, which you mention that you sent me. Peter continues with me, and behaves as well as I can expect, in a Country where there are many Occasions of spoiling Servants, if they are ever so good. He has as few Faults as most of them, and I see with only one Eye, and hear only with one Ear; so we rub on pretty comfortably. King, that you enquire after, is not with us. He ran away from our House, near two Years ago, while we were absent in the Country; But was soon found in Suffolk, where he had been taken in the Service of a Lady, that was very fond of the

[1] This relates to a scheme, which had been set on foot by the philanthropic Dr. Thomas Bray, who passed a large part of his life in performing deeds of benevolence and charity. He became acquainted with M. D'Allone, at the Hague, who approved and favored his schemes. M. D'Allone, during his lifetime, gave to Dr. Bray a considerable sum of money, which was to be applied to the conversion of negroes in the British Plantations, and at his death he left an additional sum of nine hundred pounds for the same object. Dr. Bray formed an association for the management and proper disposal of these funds. He died in 1730, and the same trust continued to be executed by a company of gentlemen, called "Dr. Bray's Associates." Dr. Franklin was for several years one of these associates. — S.

Merit of making him a Christian, and contributing to his Education and Improvement. As he was of little Use, and often in Mischief, Billy consented to her keeping him while we stay in England. So the Lady sent him to School, has him taught to read and write, to play on the Violin and French Horn, with some other Accomplishments more useful in a Servant. Whether she will finally be willing to part with him, or persuade Billy to sell him to her, I know not. In the mean time he is no Expence to us. The dried Venison was very acceptable, and I thank you for it. We have had it constantly shav'd to eat with our Bread and Butter for Breakfast, and this Week saw the last of it. The Bacon still holds out, for we are choice of it. Some Rashers of it, yesterday relish'd a Dish of Green Pease. Mrs. Stevenson thinks there was never any in England so good. The smok'd Beef was also excellent.

The Accounts you give me of the Marriages of our friends are very agreeable. I love to hear of every thing that tends to increase the Number of good People. You cannot conceive how shamefully the Mode here is a single Life. One can scarce be in the Company of a Dozen Men of Circumstance and Fortune, but what it is odds that you find on enquiry eleven of them are single. The great Complaint is the excessive Expensiveness of English Wives.

I am extreamly concern'd with you at the Misfortune of our Friend Mr. Griffith. How could it possibly happen? 'Twas a terrible Fire that of Boston. I shall contribute here towards the Relief of the Sufferers. Our Relations have escap'd I believe generally; but some of my particular Friends must have suffer'd greatly.

I think you will not complain this Year, as you did the last,

of being so long without a Letter. I have wrote to you very frequently; and shall not be so much out of the Way of writing this Summer as I was the last. I hope our friend Bartram is safely return'd to his Family. Remember me to him in the kindest Manner.

Poor David Edwards died this Day Week, of a Consumption. I had a Letter from a Friend of his, acquainting me that he had been long ill, and incapable of doing his Business, and was at Board in the Country. I fear'd he might be in Straits, as he never was prudent enough to lay up any thing. So I wrote to him immediately, that, if he had occasion, he might draw on me for Five Guineas. But he died before my Letter got to hand. I hear the Woman, at whose House he long lodg'd and boarded, has buried him and taken all he left, which could not be much, and there are some small Debts unpaid. He maintained a good Character at Bury, where he lived some years, and was well respected, to my Knowledge, by some Persons of Note there. I wrote to you before, that we saw him at Bury, when we went thro' Suffolk into Norfolk, the Year before last. I hope his good Father, my old Friend, continues well.

Give my Duty to Mother, and Love to my dear Sally. Remember me affectionately to all Enquiring Friends, and believe me ever, my dearest Debby, your loving Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

289. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

London, Sept. 13, 1760.

My dear Friend,

I have your agreable letter from Bristol, which I take this first Leisure Hour to answer, having for some time been much engag'd in Business.

Your first Question, *What is the Reason the Water at this place, tho' cold at the Spring, becomes warm by Pumping?* it will be most prudent in me to forbear attempting to answer, till, by a more circumstantial account, you assure me of the Fact. I own I should expect that Operation to warm, not so much the Water pump'd, as the Person pumping. The Rubbing of dry Solids together has been long observ'd to produce Heat; but the like Effect has never yet, that I have heard, been produc'd by the mere Agitation of Fluids, or Friction of Fluids with Solids. Water in a Bottle, shook for Hours by a Mill-Hopper, it is said, discover'd no sensible Addition of Heat. The Production of Animal Heat by Exercise is therefore to be accounted for in another manner, which I may hereafter endeavour to make you acquainted with.

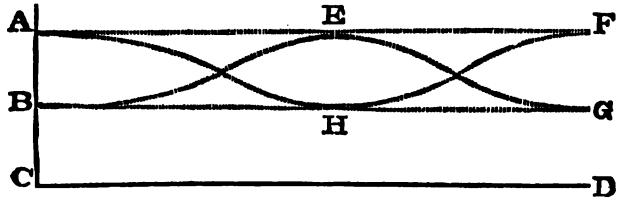
This Prudence of not attempting to give Reasons before one is sure of Facts, I learned from one of your Sex, who, as Selden tells us, being in company with some Gentlemen that were viewing and considering something which they call'd a Chinese Shoe, and disputing earnestly about the manner of wearing it, and how it could possibly be put on; put in her Word, and said modestly, *Gentlemen, are you sure it is a Shoe? Should not that be settled first?*

But I shall now endeavour to explain what I said to you about the Tide in Rivers, and to that End shall make a Figure, which, tho' not very like a River, may serve to convey my

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — Ed.

Meaning. Suppose a Canal 140 Miles long, communicating at one End with the Sea, and fill'd therefore with Sea Water. I chuse a Canal at first, rather than a River, to throw out of Consideration the Effects produced by the Streams of Fresh Water from the Land, the Inequality in Breadth, and the Crookedness of Courses.

Let A, C, be the Head of the Canal; C, D, the Bottom of it; D, F, the open Mouth of it, next the Sea. Let the strait prick'd Line, B, G, represent Low-Water Mark, the whole Length of the Canal. A, F, High-Water Mark: Now if a Person, standing at E, and observing, at the time of High Water there, that the Canal is quite full at that Place up to



the Line E, should conclude that the Canal is equally full to the same Height from End to End, and therefore there was as much more Water come into the Canal since it was down at Low-Water Mark, as would be included in the oblong Space A, B, G, F, he would be greatly mistaken. For the Tide is *a Wave*, and the Top of the Wave, which makes High Water, as well as every other lower Part, is progressive; and it is High Water successively, but not at the same time, in all the several Points between G, F, and A, B. And in such a Length as I have mention'd, it is Low Water at F, G, and also at A, B, at or near the same time with its being High Water at E; so that the Surface of the Water in the Canal, during that Situation, is properly represented by the Curve

prick'd Line, B, E, G. And on the other hand, when it is Low Water at E, H, it is High Water both at F, G, and at A, B, at or near the same time; and the Surface would then be describ'd by the inverted Curve Line, A, H, F.

In this View of the Case, you will easily see, that there must be very little more Water in the Canal at what we call High Water, than there is at Low Water, those Terms not relating to the whole Canal at the same time, but successively to its Parts. And, if you suppose the Canal six times as long, the Case would not vary as to the Quantity of Water at different times of the Tide; there would only be six Waves in the Canal at the same time, instead of one, and the Hollows in the Water would be equal to the Hills.

That this is not mere Theory, but conformable to Fact, we know by our long Rivers in America. The Delaware, on which Philadelphia stands, is in this particular similar to the Canal I have supposed of one Wave; for, when it is High Water at the Capes or Mouth of the river, it is also High Water at Philadelphia, which stands about 140 Miles from the Sea; and there is at the same time a Low Water in the Middle between the two High Waters; where, when it comes to be High Water, it is at the same time Low Water at the Capes and at Philadelphia. And the longer Rivers have some a Wave and Half, some two, three, or four Waves, according to their Length. In the shorter Rivers of this Island, one may see the same thing in Part; for Instance, it is High Water at Gravesend an Hour before it is High Water at London Bridge; and 20 Miles below Gravesend an Hour before it is High Water at Gravesend. Therefore at the Time of High Water at Gravesend the Top of the Wave is there, and the Water is then not so high by some feet where the Top of the

Wave was an Hour before, or where it will be an Hour after, as it is just then at Gravesend.

Now we are not to suppose that because the Swell or Top of the Wave runs at the Rate of 20 Miles an Hour, that therefore the Current, or Water itself of which the Wave is compos'd, runs at that rate. Far from it. To conceive this Motion of a Wave, make a small Experiment or two. Fasten one End of a Cord in a Window near the Top of a House, and let the other End come down to the Ground; take this End in your Hand, and you may, by a sudden Motion, occasion a Wave in the Cord that will run quite up to the Window; but tho' the Wave is progressive from your Hand to the Window, the Parts of the Rope do not proceed with the Wave, but remain where they were, except only that kind of Motion that produces the Wave. So if you throw a Stone into a Pond of Water when the Surface is still and smooth, you will see a circular Wave proceed from the Stone as its Centre, quite to the Sides of the Pond; but the Water does not proceed with the Wave, it only rises and falls to form it in the different Parts of its Course; and the Waves that follow the first, all make use of the same Water with their Predecessors.

But a Wave in Water is not indeed in all circumstances exactly like that in a Cord; for, Water being a Fluid, and gravitating to the Earth, it naturally runs from a higher Place to a lower; therefore the Parts of the Wave in Water do actually run a little both ways from its Top towards its lower Sides, which the Parts of the Wave in the Cord cannot do. Thus, when it is high and standing Water at Gravesend, the Water 20 Miles below has been running Ebb, or towards the Sea for an Hour, or ever since it was High Water there; but the Water at London Bridge will run flood, or from the Sea yet

another Hour, till it is High Water or the Top of the Wave arrives at that Bridge, and then it will have run Ebb an Hour at Gravesend, &c. &c. Now this Motion of the Water, occasion'd only by its Gravity, or Tendency to run from a higher Place to a lower, is by no means so swift as the Motion of the Wave. It scarce exceeds perhaps two Miles in an Hour.

If it went, as the Wave does, 20 Miles an Hour, no Ships could ride at Anchor in such a Stream, nor Boats row against it.

In common Speech, indeed, this Current of the Water both Ways from the Top of the Wave is called *the Tide;* thus we say, *the Tide runs strong, the Tide runs at the rate of 1, 2, or 3 Miles an hour, &c.;* and, when we are at a Part of the River behind the Top of the Wave, and find the Water lower than High-water Mark, and running towards the Sea, we say, *the Tide runs Ebb;* and, when we are before the Top of the Wave, and find the Water higher than Low-water Mark, and running from the Sea, we say, *the Tide runs flood*; but these Expressions are only locally proper; for a Tide, strictly speaking, is *one whole Wave*, including all its Parts higher and lower, and these Waves succeed one another about twice in twenty-four Hours.

This Motion of the Water, occasion'd by its Gravity, will explain to you why the Water near the Mouth of Rivers may be salter at High water than at Low. Some of the Salt Water, as the Tide Wave enters the river, runs from its Top and fore Side, and mixes with the fresh, and also pushes it back up the River.

Supposing that the Water commonly runs during the Flood at the rate of two Miles in an Hour, and that the Flood runs 5 Hours, you see that it can bring at most into our Canal only a Quantity of Water equal to the Space included in the Breadth of the Canal, ten Miles of its Length, and the Depth

between Low and High-water Mark: Which is but a fourteenth Part of what would be necessary to fill all the Space between Low and High-water Mark for 140 Miles, the whole Length of the Canal.

And indeed such a Quantity of Water as would fill that whole Space, to run in and out every Tide, must create so outrageous a Current, as would do infinite Damage to the Shores, Shipping, &c., and make the Navigation of a River almost impracticable.

I have made this Letter longer than I intended, and therefore reserve for another what I have farther to say on the Subject of Tides and Rivers. I shall now only add, that I have not been exact in the Numbers, because I would avoid perplexing you with minute Calculations, my Design at present being chiefly to give you distinct and clear Ideas of the first Principles.

After writing 6 Folio Pages of Philosophy to a young Girl, is it necessary to finish such a Letter with a Compliment? Is not such a Letter of itself a Compliment? Does it not say, she has a Mind thirsty after Knowledge, and capable of receiving it; and that the most agreable Things one can write to her are those that tend to the Improvement of her Understanding? It does indeed say all this, but then it is still no Compliment; it is no more than plain honest Truth, which is not the Character of a Compliment. So if I would finish my Letter in the *Mode*, I should yet add something that means nothing, and is *merely* civil and polite. But, being naturally awkward at every Circumstance of Ceremony, I shall not attempt it. I had rather conclude abruptly with what pleases me more than any Compliment can please you, that I am allow'd to subscribe myself

Your affectionate Friend, B. FRANKLIN.

290. THE

INTEREST

OF

GREAT BRITAIN

CONSIDERED

WITH REGARD TO HER

COLONIES

AND THE ACQUISITIONS OF

CANADA AND GUADALOUPE

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE INCREASE OF

MANKIND, PEOPLING OF COUNTRIES, &c.

London:
Printed for T. Becket, at Tully's Head, near
Surry-street in the Strand.
MDCCLX.[1]

[1] From a copy in P. H. S. presented "to the Rev. Dr. Mayhew, from his humble Servt, the Author."
See Introduction, Vol. I, pp. 138 and 145. — ED.

I HAVE perused, with no small pleasure, the *Letter addressed to Two Great Men*, and the *Remarks* on that letter. It is not merely from the beauty, the force, and perspicuity of expression, or the general elegance of manner, conspicuous in both pamphlets, that my pleasure chiefly arises; it is rather from this, that I have lived to see subjects of the greatest importance to this nation publickly discussed without party views or party heat, with decency and politeness, and with no other warmth than what a zeal for the honour and happiness of our King and country may inspire; and this by writers whose understanding (however they may differ from each other) appears not unequal to their candour and the uprightness of their intention.

But, as great abilities have not always the best information, there are, I apprehend, in the *Remarks*, some opinions not well founded, and some mistakes of so important a nature, as to render a few observations on them necessary for the better information of the publick.

The author of the *Letter*, who must be every way best able to support his own sentiments, will, I hope, excuse me, if I seem officiously to interfere; when he considers, that the spirit of patriotism, like other qualities good and bad, is catching; and that his long silence since the *Remarks* appeared, has made us despair of seeing the subject farther discussed by his masterly hand. The ingenious and candid remarker, too, who must have been misled himself, before he employed his skill and address to mislead others, will certainly, since he declares he *aims at no seduction*, be disposed to excuse even the weakest effort to prevent it.

And surely if the general opinions that possess the minds of the people may possibly be of consequence in publick affairs,

it must be fit to set those opinions right. If there is danger, as the remarker supposes, that "extravagant expectations" may embarass "a virtuous and able ministry," and "render the negotiation for peace a work of infinite difficulty," [1] there is no less danger, that expectations too low, thro' want of proper information, may have a contrary effect, may make even a virtuous and able ministry less anxious, and less attentive to the obtaining points, in which the honour and interest of the nation are essentially concerned; and the people less hearty in supporting such a ministry and its measures.

The people of this nation are indeed respectable, not for their numbers only, but for their understanding and their publick spirit: they manifest the first, by their universal approbation of the late prudent and vigorous measures, and the confidence they so justly repose in a wise and good prince, and an honest and able administration; the latter they have demonstrated by the immense supplies granted in Parliament unanimously, and paid through the whole kingdom with chearfulness. And since to this spirit and these supplies our "victories and successes" [2] have in great measure been owing, is it quite right, is it generous to say, with the *remarker*, that the people "had no share in acquiring them?" The mere mob he cannot mean, even where he speaks of the *madness of the people;* for the madness of the mob must be too feeble and impotent, arm'd as the government of this country at present is, to "overrule," [3] even in the slightest instances, the "virtue and moderation" of a firm and steady ministry.

While the war continues, its final event is quite uncertain. The Victorious of this year may be the vanquish'd of the next.

[1] Remarks, p. 6. [2] Ibid., p. 7. [3] Ibid., p. 7.

It may therefore be too early to say, what advantages we ought absolutely to insist on, and make the *sine quibus non* of a peace. If the necessity of our affairs should oblige us to accept of terms less advantageous than our present successes seem to promise us, an intelligent people as ours is, must see that necessity, and will acquiesce. But as a peace, when it is made, may be made hastily; and as the unhappy continuance of the war affords us time to consider, among several advantages gain'd or to be gain'd, which of them may be most for our interest to retain, if some and not all may possibly be retained; I do not blame the public disquisition of these points, as premature or useless. Light often arises from a collision of opinions, as fire from flint and steel; and if we can obtain the benefit of the *light*, without danger from the *heat* sometimes produc'd by controversy, why should we discourage it?

Supposing then, that heaven may still continue to bless his Majesty's arms, and that the event of this just war may put it in our power to retain some of our conquests at the making of a peace; let us consider whether we are to confine ourselves to those possessions only, that were "the *objects* for which we began the war."[1] This the *remarker* seems to think right, when the question relates to "Canada, *properly so called;* it having never been mentioned as one of those objects, in any of our memorials or declarations, or in any national or public act whatsoever." But the gentleman himself will probably agree, that if the Cession of *Canada* would be a real advantage to us, we may demand it under his second head, as an "*indemnification* for the charges incurred" in recovering our just rights; otherwise according to his own principles, the demand

[1] Remarks, p. 19.

of *Guadaloupe* can have no foundation. That "our claims before the war were large enough for possession and for security too,"[1] tho' it seems a clear point with the ingenious remarker, is, I own, not so with me. I am rather of the contrary opinion, and shall presently give my reasons.

But first let me observe, that we did not make those claims because they were large enough for security, but because we could rightfully claim no more. Advantages gain'd in the course of this war may increase the extent of our rights. Our claims before the war contain'd some security; but that is no reason why we should neglect acquiring more when the demand of more is become reasonable. It may be reasonable in the case of *America* to ask for the security recommended by the author of the letter,[2] tho' it would be preposterous to do it in many other cases: his propos'd demand is founded on the little value of *Canada* to the *French;* the right we have to ask, and the power we may have to insist on an indemnification for our expences; the difficulty the *French* themselves will be under of restraining their restless subjects in *America* from encroaching on our limits and disturbing our trade; and the difficulty on our part of preventing encroachments that may possibly exist many years without coming to our knowledge.

But the remarker "does not see why the arguments employ'd concerning a security for a peaceable behaviour in *Canada*, would not be equally cogent for calling for the same security in *Europe*."[3] On a little farther reflection, he must I think be sensible, that the circumstances of the two cases are widely different. Here we are separated by the best and

[1] Remarks, p. 19.

[2] Page 30 of the Letter, and p. 21 of the Remarks.

[3] Remarks, p. 28.

clearest of boundaries, the ocean, and we have people in or near every part of our territory. Any attempt to encroach upon us, by building a fort, even in the obscurest corner of these islands, must therefore be known and prevented immediately. The aggressors also must be known, and the nation they belong to would be accountable for their aggression. In *America* it is quite otherwise. A vast wilderness thinly or scarce at all peopled, conceals with ease the march of troops and workmen. Important passes may be seiz'd within our limits, and forts built in a month, at a small expence, that may cost us an age, and a million to remove. Dear experience has taught us this. But what is still worse, the wide-extended forests between our settlements and theirs are inhabited by barbarous tribes of savages, that delight in war, and take pride in murder, subjects properly neither of the *French* nor *English*, but strongly attach'd to the former by the art and indefatigable industry of priests, similarity of superstitions, and frequent family alliances. These are easily, and have been continually, instigated to fall upon and massacre our planters, even in times of full peace between the two crowns, to the certain diminution of our people and the contraction of our settlements.[1] And though it is known they

[1] A very intelligent writer of that country, Dr. Clark, in his "Observations on the late and present Conduct of the French, &c.," printed at *Boston*, 1755, says: —

"The Indians in the *French* interest are, upon all proper opportunities, instigated by their priests, who have generally the chief management of their public councils, to acts of hostility against the *English*, even in time of profound peace between the two crowns. Of this there are many undeniable instances: The war between the Indians and the colonies of the *Massachusetts Bay* and *New Hampshire*, in 1723, by which those colonies suffered so much damage, was begun by the instigation of the *French*; their supplies were from them, and there are now original letters of several Jesuits to be produced, whereby it evidently appears, that they were continually animating

are supply'd by the *French*, and carry their prisoners to them, we can by complaining obtain no redress, as the governors of *Canada* have a ready excuse, that the Indians are an independent people, over whom they have no power, and for whose actions they are therefore not accountable. Surely circumstances so widely different, may reasonably authorize different demands of security in *America*, from such as are usual or necessary in *Europe*.

The *remarker*, however, thinks, that our real dependance for keeping "*France* or any other nation true to her engagements, must not be in demanding securities, which no nation whilst *independent* can give, but on our own strength and our own vigilance." [1] No nation that has carried on a war with disadvantage, and is unable to continue it, can be said, under such circumstances, to be *independent;* and while either side thinks itself in a condition to demand an indemnification, there is no man in his senses, but will, *cæteris paribus*, prefer

the Indians, when almost tired with the war, to a farther prosecution of it. The *French* not only excited the Indians, and supported them, but joined their own forces with them in all the late hostilities, that have been committed within his Majesty's province of *Nova Scotia*. And from an intercepted letter this year from the Jesuit at *Penobscot*, and from other information, it is certain, that they have been using their utmost endeavours to excite the Indians to new acts of hostility against his Majesty's colony of the *Massachusetts Bay;* and some have been committed. The *French* not only excite the Indians to acts of hostility, but reward them for it by *buying the* English *prisoners of them;* for the ransom of each of which they afterwards demand of us the price, that is usually given for a slave in these colonies. They do this under the specious pretense of rescuing the poor prisoners from the cruelties and barbarities of the savages; but in reality to encourage them to continue their depredations, as they can by this means get more by hunting the *English*, than by hunting wild beasts; and the *French* at the same time are thereby enabled to keep up a large body of Indians, entirely at *the expence of the* English." — F.

[1] Remarks, p. 25.

an indemnification that is a cheaper and more effectual security than any other he can think of. Nations in this situation demand and cede countries by almost every treaty of peace that is made. The *French* part of the island of *St. Christopher's* was added to *Great Britain* in circumstances altogether similar to those in which a few months may probably place the country of *Canada*. Farther security has always been deemed a motive with a conqueror to be less moderate; and even the vanquish'd insist upon security as a reason for demanding what they acknowledge they could not otherwise properly ask.

The security of the frontier of *France* on the side of the *Netherlands* was always considered, in the negotiation that began at *Gertruydenburgh*, and ended with that war. For the same reason they demanded and had *Cape Breton*. But a war concluded to the advantage of *France* has always added something to the power, either of *France* or the House of *Bourbon*. Even that of 1733, which she commenced with declarations of her having no ambitious views, and which finished by a treaty at which the ministers of *France* repeatedly declared that she desired nothing for herself, in effect gained for her *Lorrain*, an indemnification ten times the value of all her *North American* possessions.

In short, security and quiet of princes and states have ever been deemed sufficient reasons, when supported by power, for disposing of rights; and such dispositions have never been looked on as want of moderation. It has always been the foundation of the most general treaties. The security of *Germany* was the argument for yielding considerable possessions there to the *Swedes:* and the security of *Europe* divided the *Spanish* monarchy by the partition treaty, made between

powers who had no *other* right to dispose of any part of it. There can be no cession that is not supposed at least to increase the power of the party to whom it is made. It is enough that he has a right to ask it, and that he does it not merely to serve the purposes of a dangerous ambition.

Canada, in the hands of *Britain*, will endanger the kingdom of *France* as little as any other cession; and from its situation and circumstances cannot be hurtful to any other state. Rather, if peace be an advantage, this cession may be such to all *Europe*. The present war teaches us, that disputes arising in *America* may be an occasion of embroiling nations who have no concerns there. If the *French* remain in *Canada* and *Louisiana*, fix the boundaries as you will between us and them, we must border on each other for more than 1500 miles. The people that inhabit the frontiers are generally the refuse of both nations, often of the worst morals and the least discretion, remote from the eye, the prudence, and the restraint of government. Injuries are therefore frequently, in some part or other of so long a frontier, committed on both sides, resentment provoked, the colonies are first engaged, and then the mother countries. And two great nations can scarce be at war in *Europe*, but some other prince or state thinks it a convenient opportunity to revive some ancient claim, seize some advantage, obtain some territory, or enlarge some power at the expence of a neighbour. The flames of war once kindled, often spread far and wide, and the mischief is infinite. Happy it prov'd to both nations, that the *Dutch* were prevailed on finally to cede the *New Netherlands* (now the province of *New York*) to us at the peace of 1674; a peace that has ever since continued between us, but must have been frequently disturbed, if they had retained the possession of

that country, bordering several hundred miles on our colonies of *Pensilvania* westward, *Connecticut* and the *Massachusetts* eastward. Nor is it to be wondered at that people of different language, religion, and manners, should in those remote parts engage in frequent quarrels, when we find, that even the people of our own colonies have frequently been so exasperated against each other in their disputes about boundaries, as to proceed to open violence and bloodshed.

But the *remarker* thinks we shall be sufficiently secure in *America*, if we "raise *English* forts at such passes as may at once make us respectable to the *French* and to the *Indian* nations."[1] The security desirable in *America* may be considered as of three kinds. 1. A security of possession, that the *French* shall not drive us out of the country. 2. A security of our planters from the inroads of savages, and the murders committed by them. 3. A security that the *British* nation shall not be obliged, on every new war, to repeat the immense expence occasion'd by this, to defend its possessions in *America*.

Forts in the most important passes, may, I acknowledge, be of use to obtain the first kind of security: but as those situations are far advanc'd beyond the inhabitants, the expence of maintaining and supplying the garrisons, will be very great even in time of full peace, and immense on every interruption of it; as it is easy for skulking parties of the enemy in such long roads thro' the woods, to intercept and cut off our convoys, unless guarded continually by great bodies of men.

The second kind of security will not be obtained by such forts, unless they were connected by a wall like that of *China*, from one end of our settlements to the other. If the *Indians*

[1] Remarks, p. 25.

when at war, march'd like the *Europeans*, with great armies, heavy cannon, baggage and carriages, the passes thro' which alone such armies could penetrate our country or receive their supplies, being secur'd, all might be sufficiently secure; but the case is widely different. They go to war, as they call it, in small parties, from fifty men down to five. Their hunting life has made them acquainted with the whole country, and scarce any part of it is impracticable to such a party. They can travel thro' the woods even by night, and know how to conceal their tracks. They pass easily between your forts undiscovered; and privately approach the settlements of your frontier inhabitants. They need no convoys of provisions to follow them; for whether they are shifting from place to place in the woods, or lying in wait for an opportunity to strike a blow, every thicket and every stream furnishes so small a number with sufficient subsistence. When they have surpriz'd separately, and murder'd and scalp'd a dozen families, they are gone with inconceivable expedition through unknown ways, and 'tis very rare that pursuers have any chance of coming up with them.[1] In short, long experience

[1] "Although the *Indians* live scattered, as a hunter's life requires, they may be collected together from almost any distance, as they can find their subsistence from their gun in their travelling. But let the number of the *Indians* be what it will, they are not formidable merely on account of their numbers; there are many other circumstances that give them a great advantage over the *English*. The *English* inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a large tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the sea shore; and although some of their trading towns are thick settled, their settlements in the country towns must be at a distance from each other: besides, that in a new country where lands are cheap, people are fond of acquiring large tracts to themselves; and therefore in the out settlements, they must be more remote: and as the people that move out are generally poor, they sit down either where they can easiest procure land, or soonest raise a subsistence. Add to this, that the *English* have fixed, settled habitations, the easiest and shortest passages to

has taught our planters, that they cannot rely upon forts as a security against *Indians:* The inhabitants of *Hackney* might

which the *Indians*, by constantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; whereas the *English* know little or nothing of the *Indian* country, nor of the passages through the woods that lead to it. The *Indian* way of making war is by sudden attack upon exposed places; and as soon as they have done mischief, they retire, and either go home by the same or some different rout, as they think safest; or go to some other place at a distance, to renew their stroke. If a sufficient party should happily be ready to pursue them, it is a great chance, whether in a country consisting of woods and swamps, which the *English* are not acquainted with, the enemy do not lie in ambush for them in some convenient place, and from thence destroy them. If this should not be the case, but the *English* should pursue them, as soon as they have gained the rivers, by means of their canoes, to the use of which they are brought up from their infancy, they presently get out of their reach: further, if a body of men were to march into their country, to the places where they are settled, they can, upon the least notice, without great disadvantage, quit their present habitations, and betake themselves to new ones." — CLARK'S "Observations," p. 13.

"It has been already remarked, that the tribes of the *Indians* living upon the lakes and rivers that run upon the back of the *English* settlements in *North America*, are very numerous, and can furnish a great number of fighting men, all perfectly well acquainted with the use of arms as soon as capable of carrying them, as they get the whole of their subsistence from hunting; and that this army, large as it may be, can be maintained by the *French* without any expence. From their numbers, their situation, and the rivers that run into the *English* settlements, it is easy to conceive that they can at any time make an attack upon, and constantly annoy as many of the exposed *English* settlements as they please, and those at any distance from each other. The effects of such incursions have been too severely felt by many of the *British* colonies, not to be very well known. The entire breaking up places that had been for a considerable time settled at a great expence, both of labour and money; burning the houses, destroying the stock, killing and making prisoners great numbers of the inhabitants, with all the cruel usage they meet with in their captivity, is only a part of the scene. All other places, that are exposed, are kept in continual terror; the lands lie waste and uncultivated from the danger that attends those that shall presume to work upon them; besides the immense charge the governments must be at in a very ineffectual manner to defend their extended frontiers; and all this from the influence the *French* have had over, but comparatively, a few of the *Indians*. To the same or greater evils still will every one of the colonies be exposed, whenever the same influence shall be extended to the whole body of them." — *Ibid.*, p. 20.

as well rely upon the tower of *London* to secure them against highwaymen and housebreakers.

As to the third kind of security, that we shall not, in a few years, have all we have now done to do over again in *America;* and be obliged to employ the same number of troops, and ships, at the same immense expence, to defend our possessions there, while we are in proportion weaken'd here: such forts, I think, cannot prevent this. During a peace, it is not to be doubted the *French*, who are adroit at fortifying, will likewise erect forts in the most advantageous places of the country we leave them, which will make it more difficult than ever to be reduc'd in case of another war. We know by the experience of this war, how extremely difficult it is to march an army through the *American* woods, with its necessary cannon and stores, sufficient to reduce a very slight fort. The accounts at the treasury will tell you what amazing sums we have necessarily spent in the expeditions against two very trifling forts, *Duquesne* and *Crown Point.* While the *French* retain their influence over the *Indians*, they can easily keep our long-extended frontier in continual alarm, by a very few of those people; and with a small number of regulars and militia, in such a country, we find they can keep an army of ours in full employ for several years. We therefore shall not need to be told by our colonies, that, if we leave *Canada*, however circumscrib'd, to the *French*, "we have done nothing";[1] we shall soon be made sensible ourselves of this truth, and to our cost.

I would not be understood to deny that even if we subdue and retain *Canada*, some few forts may be of use to secure the goods of the traders, and protect the commerce, in case of any sudden misunderstanding with any tribe of *Indians:* but

[1] Remarks, p. 26.

these forts will be best under the care of the colonies interested in the *Indian* trade, and garrison'd by their provincial forces, and at their own expence. Their own interest will then induce the *American* governments to take care of such forts in proportion to their importance; and see that the officers keep their corps full, and mind their duty. But any troops of ours plac'd there, and accountable here, would, in such remote and obscure places, and at so great a distance from the eye and inspection of superiors, soon become of little consequence, even though the *French* were left in possession of *Canada.* If the four independent companies, maintained by the Crown in *New York* more than forty years, at a great expence, consisted, for most part of the time, of faggots chiefly; if their officers enjoy'd their places as *sinecures*, and were only, as a writer[1] of that country stiles them, a kind of *military monks;* if this was the state of troops posted in a populous country, where the imposition could not be so well conceal'd; what may we expect will be the case of those that shall be posted two, three, or four hundred miles from the inhabitants, in such obscure and remote places as *Crown Point*, *Oswego*, *Duquesne*, or *Niagara?* They would scarce be even faggots; they would dwindle to meer names upon paper, and appear nowhere but upon the muster-rolls.

Now all the kinds of security we have mentioned are obtain'd by subduing and retaining *Canada.* Our present possessions in *America* are secur'd; our planters will no longer be massacred by the *Indians*, who depending absolutely on us for what are now become the necessaries of life to them, guns, powder, hatchets, knives, and cloathing; and having no other *Europeans* near, that can either supply them, or instigate

[1] Douglass.

them against us; there is no doubt of their being always dispos'd, if we treat them with common justice, to live in perpetual peace with us. And with regard to *France*, she cannot, in case of another war, put us to the immense expence of defending that long-extended frontier; we shall then, as it were, have our backs against a wall in *America*, the sea-coast will be easily protected by our superior naval power; and here "our own watchfulness and our own strength" will be properly, and cannot but be successfully employed. In this situation the force now employ'd in that part of the world, may be spar'd for any other service here or elsewhere; so that both the offensive and defensive strength of the *British* empire, on the whole, will be greatly increased.

But to leave the *French* in possession of *Canada*, when it is in our power to remove them, and depend (as the remarker proposes) on our own "*strength and watchfulness*" [1] to prevent the mischiefs that may attend it, seems neither safe nor prudent. Happy as we now are, under the best of kings, and in the prospect of a succession promising every felicity a nation was ever bless'd with: happy too in the wisdom and vigour of every part of the administration; we cannot, we ought not to promise ourselves the uninterrupted continuance of those blessings. The safety of a considerable part of the state, and the interest of the whole are not to be trusted to the wisdom and vigor of future administrations, when a security is to be had more effectual, more constant, and much less expensive. They who can be moved by the apprehension of dangers so remote as that of the future independence of our colonies (a point I shall hereafter consider) seem scarcely consistent with themselves, when they suppose we may rely on the wisdom

[1] Remarks, p. 25.

and vigour of an administration for their safety. I should indeed think it less material whether *Canada* were ceded to us or not, if I had in view only the *security of possession* in our colonies. I entirely agree with the Remarker, that we are in *North America* "a far greater continental as well as naval power," and that only cowardice or ignorance can subject our colonies there to a *French* conquest. But for the same reason, I disagree with him widely upon another point.

I do not think, that our "blood and treasure has been expended," as he intimates, "*in the cause of the colonies*," and that we are, "making conquests *for them;*" [1] yet I believe this is too common an error. I do not say they are altogether unconcerned in the event. The inhabitants of them are, in common with the other subjects of *Great Britain*, anxious for the glory of her crown, the extent of her power and commerce, the welfare and future repose of the whole *British* people. They could not, therefore but take a large share in the affronts offered to *Britain*, and have been animated with a truely *British spirit* to exert themselves beyond their strength, and against their evident interest. Yet so unfortunate have they been, that their virtue has made against them; for upon no better foundation than this, have they been supposed the authors of a war carried on *for their advantage only*.

It is a great mistake to imagine, that the *American* country in question between *Great Britain* and *France* is claimed as the property of any individuals or publick body in *America;* or that the possession of it by *Great Britain* is likely, in any lucrative view, to redound at all to the advantage of any person there. On the other hand, the bulk of the inhabitants of *North America* are land-owners, whose lands are inferior

[1] Remarks, p. 26.

in value to those of *Britain* only by the want of an equal number of people. It is true, the accession of the large territory claimed before the war began, especially if that be secured by the possession of *Canada*, will tend to the increase of the *British* subjects faster than if they had been confin'd within the mountains: yet the increase within the mountains only, would evidently make the comparative population equal to that of *Great Britain* much sooner than it can be expected when our people are spread over a country six times as large. I think this is the only point of light in which this question is to be viewed, and is the only one in which any of the colonies are concerned.

No colony, no possessor of lands in any colony, therefore wishes for conquests, or can be benefited by them, otherwise than as they may be a means of securing peace on their borders. No considerable advantage has resulted to the colonies by the conquests of this war, or can result from confirming them by the peace, but what they must enjoy in common with the rest of the *British* people; with this evident drawback from their share of these advantages, that they will necessarily lessen, or at least prevent the increase of the value of what makes the principal part of their private property. A people spread through the whole tract of country, on this side the *Mississipi*, and secured by *Canada* in our hands, would probably for some centuries find employment in agriculture, and thereby free us at home effectually from our fears of *American* manufactures. Unprejudic'd men well know that all the penal and prohibitory laws that ever were thought on will not be sufficient to prevent manufactures in a country whose inhabitants surpass the number that can subsist by the husbandry of it. That this will be the case in *America*

soon, if our people remain confined within the mountains, and almost as soon should it be unsafe for them to live beyond, though the country be ceded to us, no man acquainted with political and commercial history can doubt. Manufactures are founded in poverty. It is the multitude of poor without land in a country, and who must work for others at low wages or starve, that enables undertakers to carry on a manufacture, and afford it cheap enough to prevent the importation of the same kind from abroad, and to bear the expence of its own exportation.

But no man who can have a piece of land of his own, sufficient by his labour to subsist his family in plenty, is poor enough to be a manufacturer, and work for a master. Hence while there is land enough in *America* for our people, there can never be manufactures to any amount or value. It is a striking observation of a very *able pen*, that the natural livelyhood of the thin inhabitants of a forest country is hunting; that of a greater number, pasturage; that of a middling population, agriculture; and that of the greatest, manufactures; which last must subsist the bulk of the people in a full country, or they must be subsisted by charity, or perish. The extended population, therefore, that is most advantageous to *Great Britain*, will be best effected, because only effectually secured by the possession of *Canada*.

So far as the being of our present colonies in *North America* is concerned, I think indeed with the *remarker*, that the *French* there are not "*an enemy to be apprehended;*"[1] but the expression is too vague to be applicable to the present, or indeed to any other case. *Algiers*, *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, unequal as they are to this nation in power and numbers of

[1] Remarks, p. 27.

people, are enemies to be still apprehended; and the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* have been so for many ages by the greatest princes of *Scotland* and *Britain.* The wild *Irish* were able to give a great deal of disturbance even to Queen *Elizabeth,* and cost her more blood and treasure than her war with *Spain. Canada* in the hands of *France* has always stinted the growth of our colonies: In the course of this war, and indeed before it, has disturb'd and vex'd even the best and strongest of them, has found means to murder thousands of their people and unsettle a great part of their country. Much more able will it be to starve the growth of an infant settlement. *Canada* has also found means to make this nation spend two or three millions a year in *America;* and a people, how small soever, that in their present situation, can do this as often as we have a war with them, is, methinks, "*an enemy to be apprehended.*"

Our *North American* colonies are to be considered as the frontier of the *British* empire on that side. The frontier of any dominion being attack'd, it becomes not merely "*the cause*" of the people immediately affected, (the inhabitants of that frontier) but properly "*the cause*" of the whole body. Where the frontier people owe and pay obedience, there they have a right to look for protection. No political proposition is better established than this. It is therefore invidious to represent the "blood and treasure" spent in this war, as spent in "the cause of the colonies" only, and that they are "absurd and ungrateful" if they think we have done nothing unless we "make conquests for them," and reduce *Canada* to gratify their "vain ambition," &c. It will not be a conquest for them, nor gratify any vain ambition of theirs. It will be a conquest for the whole; and all our people will, in

the increase of trade, and the ease of taxes, find the advantage of it.

Should we be obliged at any time to make a war for the protection of our commerce, and to secure the exportation of our manufactures, would it be fair to represent such a war merely as blood and treasure spent in the cause of the weavers of *Yorkshire*, *Norwich*, or the *West*, the cutlers of *Sheffield*, or the button-makers of *Birmingham?* I hope it will appear before I end these sheets, that if ever there was a *national war*, this is truly such a one: a war in which the interest of the *whole* nation is directly and fundamentally concerned. Those who would be thought deeply skilled in human nature, affect to discover self-interested views everywhere at the bottom of the fairest, the most generous conduct. Suspicions and charges of this kind, meet with ready reception and belief in the minds even of the multitude; and therefore less acuteness and address than the *remarker* is possessed of, would be sufficient to persuade the nation generally, that all the zeal and spirit manifested and exerted by the colonies in this war, was only in "their own cause," to "make conquest for themselves," to engage us to make more for them, to gratify their own "vain ambition."

But should they now humbly address the mother country, in the terms and the sentiments of the *remarker;* return her their grateful acknowledgements for the blood and treasure she had spent in "*their cause*"; confess that enough had been done "*for them*"; allow that "*English* forts, raised in proper passes, will, with the wisdom and vigour of her administration," be a sufficient future protection; express their desires that their people may be confined within the mountains, lest they are suffered to spread and extend themselves in the fertile

and pleasant country on the other side, they should "*increase infinitely from all causes*," "live wholly on their own labour" and become independent; beg therefore that the *French* may be suffered to remain in possession of *Canada*, as their neighbourhood may be useful to prevent our increase, and the removing them may "in its consequences be even dangerous."[1] I say, should such an address from the colonies make its appearance here, though, according to the *remarker*, it would be a most just and reasonable one; would it not, might it not with more justice be answered; "We understand you, gentlemen, perfectly well: you have only your own interest in view: you want to have the people confined within your present limits, that in a few years the lands you are possessed of may increase tenfold in value! You want to reduce the price of labour by increasing numbers on the same territory, that you may be able to set up manufactures and vie with your mother country! You would have your people kept in a body, that you may be more able to dispute the commands of the crown, and obtain an independency. You would have the *French* left in *Canada*, to exercise your military virtue, and make you a warlike people, that you may have more confidence to embark in schemes of disobedience, and greater ability to support them! You have tasted, too, the sweets of TWO OR THREE MILLIONS *Sterling per annum* spent among you by our fleets and forces, and you are unwilling to be without a pretence for kindling up another war, and thereby occasioning a repetition of the same delightful doses! But, gentlemen, allow us to understand our interest a little likewise; we shall remove the *French* from *Canada*, that you may live in peace, and we be no more drained by your quarrels. You

[1] Remarks, pp. 50, 51.

shall have land enough to cultivate, that you may have neither necessity nor inclination to go into manufactures, and we will manufacture for you, and govern you."

A reader of the remarks may be apt to say; "If this writer would have us restore *Canada* on principles of moderation, how can we, consistent with those principles, retain *Guadaloup*, which he represents of so much greater value!" I will endeavour to explain this, because by doing it I shall have an opportunity of showing the truth and good sense of the answer to the interested application I have just supposed. The author, then, is only *apparently* and not *really* inconsistent with himself. If we can obtain the credit of moderation by restoring *Canada*, it is well: but we should, however, restore it at all events; because it would not only be of no use to us, but "the possession of it (in his opinion) may in its consequences be dangerous."[1] As how? Why, plainly, (at length it comes out) if the *French* are not left there to check the growth of our colonies, "they will extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from all causes; becoming a numerous, hardy, *independent* people; possessed of a strong country, communicating little or not at all with *England*, living wholly on their own labour, and in process of time knowing little and inquiring little about the mother country."

In short, according to this writer, our present colonies are large enough and numerous enough; and the *French* ought to be left in *North America* to prevent their increase, lest they become not only *useless*, but *dangerous* to *Britain*. I agree with the gentleman, that, with *Canada* in our possession, our people in *America* will increase amazingly. I know, that

[1] Remarks, pp. 50, 51.

their common rate of increase, where they are not molested by the enemy, is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years, by natural generation only; exclusive of the accession of foreigners.[1] I think this increase continuing would probably, in a century more, make the number of *British* subjects on that side the water more numerous than they now are on this; but, I am far from entertaining, on that account, any fears of their becoming either *useless* or *dangerous* to us; and I look on those fears to be merely imaginary, and without any probable foundation. The *remarker* is reserv'd in giving his reasons; as, in his opinion, this "is not a fit subject for discussion." I shall give mine, because I conceive it a subject necessary to be discuss'd; and the rather, as those fears how groundless and chimerical soever, may by possessing the multitude, possibly induce the ablest ministry to conform to them against their own judgment; and thereby prevent the assuring to the *British* name and nation a stability and permanency that no man acquainted with history durst have hoped for, 'till our *American* possessions opened the pleasing prospect.

The remarker thinks, that our people in *America*, "finding no check from *Canada* would extend themselves almost without bounds into the inland parts, and increase infinitely from

[1] The reason of this greater increase in *America* than in *Europe* is, that in old settled countries, all trades, farms, offices, and employments are full, and many people refrain marrying till they see an opening, in which they can settle themselves, with a reasonable prospect of maintaining a family: but in *America*, it being easy to obtain land, which, with moderate labour will afford subsistence and something to spare, people marry more readily and earlier in life, whence arises a numerous offspring and the swift population of those countries. 'Tis a common error, that we cannot fill our provinces or increase the number of them, without draining this nation of its people. The increase alone of our present colonies is sufficient for both those purposes.

all causes." The very reason he assigns for their so extending, and which is indeed the true one, their being "invited to it by the pleasantness, fertility and plenty of the country," may satisfy us, that this extension will continue to proceed as long as there remains any pleasant fertile country within their reach. And if we even suppose them confin'd by the waters of the *Mississipi* westward, and by those of St. *Laurence* and the lakes to the northward, yet still we shall leave them room enough to increase, even in the *sparse* manner of settling now practis'd there, till they amount to perhaps a hundred millions of souls. This must take some centuries to fulfil, and in the mean time, this nation must necessarily supply them with the manufactures they consume, because the new settlers will be employ'd in agriculture; and the new settlements will so continually draw off the spare hands from the old, that our present colonies will not, during the period we have mentioned, find themselves in a condition to manufacture even for their own inhabitants, to any considerable degree, much less for those who are settling behind them.

Thus our *trade* must, till that country becomes as fully peopled as *England*, that is for centuries to come, be continually increasing, and with it our naval power; because the ocean is between us and them, and our ships and seamen must increase as that trade increases.

The human body and the political differ in this, that the first is limited by nature to a certain stature, which, when attain'd, it cannot, ordinarily, exceed; the other by better government and more prudent police, as well as by change of manners and other circumstances, often takes fresh starts of growth, after being long at a stand; and may add tenfold to the dimensions it had for ages been confined to. The

mother being of full stature, is in a few years equal'd by a growing daughter: but in the case of a mother-country and her colonies, it is quite different. The growth of the children tends to increase the growth of the mother, and so the difference and superiority is longer preserved. Were the inhabitants of this island limited to their present number by any thing in nature, or by unchangeable circumstances, the equality of population between the two countries might indeed sooner come to pass: but sure experience in those parts of the island where manufactures have been introduc'd, teaches us, that people increase and multiply in proportion as the means and facility of gaining a livelihood increase; and that this island, if they could be employed, is capable of supporting ten times its present number of people.

In proportion, therefore, as the demand increases for the manufactures of *Britain*, by the increase of people in her colonies, the number of her people at home will increase, and with them the strength as well as the wealth of the nation. For satisfaction in this point let the reader compare in his mind the number and force of our present fleets with our fleet in Queen *Elizabeth's* time[1] before we had colonies. Let him compare the antient with the present state of our towns and ports on or near our western coast, *Manchester*, *Liverpool*, *Kendal*, *Lancaster*, *Glasgow*, and the countries round them, that trade with and manufacture for our colonies, not to mention *Leeds*, *Halifax*, *Sheffield* and *Birmingham*, and consider what a difference there is in the numbers of people, buildings, rents, and the value of land and of the produce of land, even if he goes back no farther than is within man's memory. Let him compare those countries with others on the same island,

[1] Namely, 40 sail, none of more than 40 guns.

where manufactures have not yet extended themselves, observe the present difference, and reflect how much greater our strength may be, if numbers give strength, when our manufacturers shall occupy every part of the island where they can possibly be subsisted.

But, say the objectors, "there is a certain distance from the sea, in *America*, beyond which the expence of carriage will put a stop to the sale and consumption of your manufactures; and this, with the difficulty of making returns for them, will oblige the inhabitants to manufacture for themselves; of course, if you suffer your people to extend their settlements beyond that distance, your people become useless to you;" and this distance is limited by some to 200 miles, by others to the *Apalachian* mountains.

Not to insist on a very plain truth, that no part of a dominion, from whence a government may on occasion draw supplies and aids both of men and money, tho' at too great a distance to be supply'd with manufactures from some other part, is therefore to be deem'd useless to the whole; I shall endeavour to show that these imaginary limits of utility, even in point of commerce, are much too narrow. The inland parts of the continent of *Europe* are farther from the sea than the limits of settlement proposed for *America*. *Germany* is full of tradesmen and artificers of all kinds, and the governments there, are not all of them always favourable to the commerce of *Britain*, yet it is a well-known fact, that our manufactures find their way even into the heart of *Germany*. Ask the great manufacturers and merchants of the *Leeds*, *Sheffield*, *Birmingham*, *Manchester* and *Norwich* goods, and they will tell you, that some of them send their riders frequently thro' *France* or *Spain* and *Italy*, up to *Vienna*, and back thro' the

middle and northern parts of *Germany*, to show samples of their wares and collect orders, which they receive by almost every mail, to a vast amount. Whatever charges arise on the carriage of goods, are added to the value, and all paid by the consumer.

If these nations, over whom we have no government, over whose consumption we can have no influence, but what arises from the cheapness and goodness of our wares; whose trade, manufactures, or commercial connections are not subject to the controul of our laws, as those of our colonies certainly are in some degree: I say, if these nations purchase and consume such quantities of our goods, notwithstanding the remoteness of their situation from the sea; how much less likely is it that the settlers in *America*, who must for ages be employ'd in agriculture chiefly, should make cheaper for themselves the goods our manufacturers at present supply them with; even if we suppose the carriage five, six, or seven hundred miles from the sea as difficult and expensive as the like distance into *Germany:* whereas in the latter, the natural distances are frequently doubled by political obstructions, I mean the intermix'd territories and clashing interests of princes.

But when we consider that the inland parts of *America* are penetrated by great navigable rivers; and there are a number of great lakes, communicating with each other, with those rivers and with the sea, very small portages here and there excepted;[1] that the sea-coasts (if one may be allow'd the

[1] From *New York* into Lake *Ontario*, the land-carriage of the several portages altogether, amounts to but about 27 miles. From Lake *Ontario* into Lake *Erie*, the land-carriage at *Niagara* is but about 12 miles. All the lakes above *Niagara* communicate by navigable straits, so that no land-carriage is necessary, to go out of one into another. From *Presqu' Isle* on Lake *Erie*,

expression) of those lakes only, amount at least to 2700 miles, exclusive of the rivers running into them; many of which are navigable to a great extent for boats and canoes, thro' vast tracts of country; how little likely is it that the expence on the carriage of our goods into those countries, should prevent the use of them. If the poor *Indians* in those remote parts are now able to pay for the linen, woollen and iron wares they are at present furnish'd with by the *French* and *English* traders, though *Indians* have nothing but what they get by hunting, and the goods are loaded with all the impositions fraud and knavery can contrive to inhance their value; will not industrious *English* farmers, hereafter settled in those countries, be much better able to pay for what shall be brought them in the way of fair commerce?

If it is asked, What can such farmers raise, wherewith to pay for the manufactures they may want from us? I answer, that the inland parts of *America* in question are well known to be fitted for the production of hemp, flax, potash, and, above all, silk; the southern parts may produce olive-oil, raisins, currans, indigo, and cochineal. Not to mention horses and black cattle, which may easily be driven to the maritime markets, and at the same time assist in conveying other commodities. That the commodities first mentioned, may easily by water or land carriage be brought to the sea-ports from interior *America*, will not seem incredible, when we reflect, that hemp formerly came from the *Ukraine*, and most southern parts of *Russia*, to *Wologda*, and down the *Dwina* to *Archangel*, and thence by a perilous navigation round the *North*

there are but 15 miles land-carriage, and that a good waggon-road, to *Beef River*, a branch of the *Ohio*; which brings you into a navigation of many thousand miles inland, if you take together the *Ohio*, the *Mississippi*, and all the great rivers and branches that run into them.

Cape to *England* and other parts of *Europe.* It now comes from the same country up the *Dnieper*, and down the *Duna* with much land carriage. Great part of the *Russia* iron, no high-priced commodity, is brought 300 miles by land and water from the heart of *Siberia.* *Furs*, (the produce too of *America*) are brought to *Amsterdam* from all parts of *Siberia*, even the most remote, *Kamschatka.* The same country furnishes me with another instance of extended inland commerce.

It is found worth while to keep up a mercantile communication between *Peking* in *China*, and *Petersburgh.* And none of these instances of inland commerce exceed those of the courses by which, at several periods, the whole trade of the *East* was carried on. Before the prosperity of the *Mamaluke* dominion in *Egypt* fixed the staple for the riches of the *East* at *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, whither they were brought from the *Red Sea*, great part of those commodities were carried to the cities of *Cashgar* and *Balk.* This gave birth to those towns, that still subsist upon the remains of their ancient opulence, amidst a people and country equally wild. From thence those goods were carried down the *Amû*, the ancient *Oxus*, to the *Caspian* Sea, and up the *Wolga* to *Astrachan*, from whence they were carried over to, and down the *Don* to the mouth of that river; and thence again the *Venetians* directly, and the *Genoese* and *Venetians* indirectly by way of *Kaffa* and *Trebisonde*, dispers'd them thro' the *Mediterranean* and some other parts of *Europe.*

Another part of those goods was carried over-land from the *Wolga* to the rivers *Duna* and *Neva;* from both they were carried to the city of *Wisbuy* in the *Baltick* so eminent for its sea-laws; and from the city of *Ladoga* on the *Neva*, we are told they were even carried by the *Dwina* to *Archangel*, and

from thence round the *North Cape*. If iron and hemp will bear the charge of carriage from this inland country, other metals will as well as iron; and certainly silk, since 3*d per lb.* is not above 1 *per cent.* on the value, and amounts to £28 *per* ton. If the growths of a country find their way out of it, the manufactures of the countries where they go will infallibly find their way into it.

They who understand the œconomy and principles of manufactures, know, that it is impossible to establish them in places not populous; and even in those that are populous, hardly possible to establish them to the prejudice of the places already in possession of them. Several attempts have been made in *France* and *Spain*, countenanced by the government, to draw from us and establish in those countries, our hardware and woollen manufactures; but without success.

The reasons are various. A manufacture is part of a great system of commerce, which takes in conveniencies of various kinds, methods of providing materials of all sorts, machines for expediting and facilitating labour, all the channels of correspondence for vending the wares, the credit and confidence necessary to found and support this correspondence, the mutual aid of different artizans, and a thousand other particulars, which time and long experience have gradually established. A part of such a system cannot support itself without the whole, and before the whole can be obtained the part perishes. Manufactures where they are in perfection, are carried on by a multiplicity of hands, each of which is expert only in his own part; no one of them a master of the whole; and if by any means spirited away to a foreign country, he is lost without his fellows. Then it is a matter of the extremest difficulty to persuade a compleat set of workmen, skilled in

all parts of a manufactory to leave their country together, and settle in a foreign land. Some of the idle and drunken may be enticed away, but these only disappoint their employers, and serve to discourage the undertaking. If by royal munificence, and an expence that the profits of the trade alone would not bear, a compleat set of good and skilful hands are collected and carried over, they find so much of the system imperfect, so many things wanting to carry on the trade to advantage, so many difficulties to overcome, and the knot of hands so easily broken by death, dissatisfaction, and desertion, that they and their employers are discouraged together, and the project vanishes into smoke.

Hence it happens, that established manufactures are hardly ever lost, but by foreign conquest, or by some eminent interior fault in manners or government; a bad police oppressing and discouraging the workmen, or religious persecutions driving the sober and industrious out of the country. There is, in short, scarce a single instance in history of the contrary, where manufactures have once taken firm root. They sometimes start up in a new place; but are generally supported like exotic plants at more expence than they are worth for any thing but curiosity; until these new seats become the refuge of the manufacturers driven from the old ones.

The conquest of *Constantinople*, and final reduction of the *Greek* empire, dispersed many curious manufacturers into different parts of *Christendom*. The former conquests of its provinces had before done the same. The loss of liberty in *Verona*, *Milan*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Pistoia*, and other great cities of *Italy*, drove the manufacturers of woollen cloths into *Spain* and *Flanders*. The latter first lost their trade and manufactures to *Antwerp* and the cities of *Brabant*, from whence

by persecution for religion, they were sent into *Holland* and *England.* The civil wars during the minority of *Charles* the First of *Spain,* which ended in the loss of the liberty of their great towns, ended too in the loss of the manufactures of *Toledo, Segovia, Salamanca, Medina del campo,* &c. The revocation of the *Edict of Nantes* communicated to all the Protestant parts of *Europe,* the paper, silk, and other valuable manufactures of *France,* almost peculiar at that time to that country, and till then in vain attempted elsewhere.

To be convinc'd that it is not soil and climate, or even freedom from taxes, that determines the residence of manufacturers, we need only turn our eyes on *Holland,* where a multitude of manufactures are still carried on (perhaps more than on the same extent of territory anywhere in *Europe*) and sold on terms upon which they cannot be had in any other part of the world. And this too is true of those growths, which by their nature and the labour required to raise them, come the nearest to manufactures.

As to the commonplace objection to the *North American* settlements, that they are in the same climate, and their produce the same, as that of *England;* in the first place, it is not true; it is particularly not so of the countries now likely to be added to our settlements; and of our present colonies, the products, lumber, tobacco, rice and indigo, great articles of commerce, do not interfere with the products of *England:* in the next place, a man must know very little of the trade of the world, who does not know, that the greater part of it is carried on between countries whose climates differ very little. Even the trade between the different parts of these *British* islands, is greatly superior to that between *England* and all the *West India* islands put together.

If I have been successful in proving that a considerable commerce may and will subsist between us and our future most inland settlements in *North America*, notwithstanding their distance, I have more than half proved no other inconveniency will arise from their distance. Many men in such a country must "*know*," must "*think*," and must "*care*" about the country they chiefly trade with. The juridical and other connections of government are yet a faster hold than even commercial ties, and spread directly and indirectly far and wide. Business to be solicited and causes depending, create a great intercourse, even where private property is not divided in different countries, yet this division will always subsist where different countries are ruled by the same government. Where a man has landed property both in the mother country and a province, he will almost always live in the mother country: this, tho' there were no trade, is singly a sufficient gain. It is said, that *Ireland* pays near a million *Sterling* annually to its absentees in *England*. The ballance of trade from *Spain* or even *Portugal* is scarcely equal to this.

Let it not be said we have no absentees from *North America*. There are many, to the writer's knowledge; and if there are at present but few of them that distinguish themselves here by great expence, it is owing to the mediocrity of fortune among the inhabitants of the *Northern colonies*, and a more equal division of landed property, than in the *West India* islands, so that there are as yet but few large estates. But if those who have such estates, reside upon and take care of them themselves, are they worse subjects than they would be if they lived idly in *England?*

Great merit is assumed for the gentlemen of the *West Indies*,[1] on the score of their residing and spending their

[1] Remarks, pp. 47, 48, &c.

money in *England.* I would not depreciate that merit; it is considerable, for they might, if they pleased, spend their money in *France:* but the difference between their spending it *here* and *at home* is not so great. What do they spend it in when they are here, but the produce and manufactures of this country; and would they not do the same if they were at home? Is it of any great importance to the *English* farmer, whether the *West India* gentleman comes to *London* and eats his beef, pork, and tongues, fresh, or has them brought to him in the *West Indies* salted; whether he eats his *English* cheese and butter, or drinks his *English* ale at *London* or in *Barbadoes?* Is the clothier's, or the mercer's, or the cutler's, or the toyman's profit less, for their goods being worn and consumed by the same persons residing on the other side of the ocean? Would not the profits of the merchant and mariner be rather greater, and some addition made to our navigation, ships, and seamen? If the *North American* gentleman stays in his own country, and lives there in that degree of luxury and expence with regard to the use of *British* manufactures, that his fortune enables him to; may not his example (from the imitation of superiors so natural to mankind) spread the use of those manufactures among hundreds of families around him, and occasion a much greater demand for them, than it would do if he should remove and live in *London?*

However this may be, if in our views of immediate advantage, it seems preferable that the gentlemen of large fortunes in *North America* should reside much in *England,* 'tis what may surely be expected as fast as such fortunes are acquired there. Their having "colleges of their own for the education of their youth," will not prevent it. A little knowledge and learning acquired, increases the appetite for more, and will

make the conversation of the learned on this side the water more strongly desired. *Ireland* has its university likewise; yet this does not prevent the immense pecuniary benefit we receive from that kingdom. And there will always be in the conveniencies of life, the politeness, the pleasures, the magnificence of the reigning country, many other attractions besides those of learning, to draw men of substance there, where they can, apparently at least, have the best bargain of happiness for their money.

Our trade to the *West India* islands is undoubtedly a valuable one: but whatever is the amount of it, it has long been at a stand. Limited as our sugar planters are by the scantiness of territory, they cannot increase much beyond their present number; and this is an evil, as I shall show hereafter, that will be little helped by our keeping *Guadaloupe.*

The trade to our *Northern Colonies* is not only greater, but yearly increasing with the increase of the people : and even in a greater proportion, as the people increase in wealth and the ability of spending, as well as in numbers.[1] I have

[1] The writer has obtained accounts of the exports to North America and the West India Islands, by which it appears, that there has been some increase of trade to those Islands, as well as to North America, though in a much less degree. The following extract from these accounts will show the reader, at one view the amount of the exports to each, in two different terms of five years; the terms taken at ten years' distance from each other, to show the increase, viz.

First term, from 1744 *to* 1748, *inclusive.*

	Northern Colonies.			West India Islands.		
1744	£640,114	12	4	£796,112	17	9
1745	534,316	2	5	503,669	19	9
1746	754,945	4	3	472,994	16	7
1747	726,648	5	5	856,463	18	6
1748	830,243	16	9	734,095	15	3
Total,	3,486,268	1	2	3,363,337	10	10
Difference,				122,930	10	4
				£3,486,268	1	2

already said, that our people in the *Northern Colonies* double in about 25 years, exclusive of the accession of strangers. That I speak within bounds, I appeal to the authentic accounts frequently required by the board of trade, and transmitted to that board by the respective governors; of which

Second term, from 1754 *to* 1758, *inclusive.*

	Northern Colonies.			West India Islands.		
1754	£1,246,615	1	11	£685,675	3	0
1755	1,177,848	6	10	694,667	13	3
1756	1,428,720	18	10	733,458	16	3
1757	1,727,924	2	10	776,488	0	6
1758	1,832,948	13	10	877,571	19	11
Total,	7,414,057	4	3	3,767,841	12	11
				Difference, 3,646,215	11	4
				£7,414,057	4	3

In the first term, total for West India Islands .	£3,363,337	10	10
In the second term ditto	3,767,841	12	11
Increase, only	£404,504	2	1
In the first term, total for Northern Colonies .	3,486,268	1	2
In the second term, ditto	7,414,057	4	3
Increase,	£3,927,789	3	1

By these accounts it appears, that the exports to the West India Islands, and to the Northern Colonies, were in the first term nearly equal; the difference being only £122,936 10*s.* 4*d.*, and in the second term, the exports to those islands had only increased £404,504 2*s.* 1*d.* Whereas the increase to the Northern Colonies is £3,927,789 3*s.* 1*d.*, almost *Four Millions.*

Some part of this increased demand for English goods may be ascribed to the armies and fleets we have had both in North America and the West Indies; and so much for what is consumed by the soldiery; their clothing, stores, ammunition, &c. sent from hence on account of the government, being (as is supposed) not included in these accounts of merchandize exported; but, as the war has occasioned a great plenty of money in America, many of the inhabitants have increased their expense.

N. B. These accounts do not include any exports from Scotland to America, which are doubtless proportionably considerable; nor the exports from Ireland. — F. This note was written after the pamphlet was printed, and constitutes a concluding page. — ED.

accounts I shall select one as a sample, being that from the colony of *Rhode Island;*[1] a colony that of all the others receives the least addition from strangers. For the increase of our trade to those colonies, I refer to the accounts frequently laid before Parliament, by the officers of the customs, and to the custom-house books: from which I have also selected one account, that of the trade from *England* (exclusive of Scotland) to *Pensilvania;*[2] a colony most remarkable for the plain frugal manner of living of its inhabitants, and the most

[1] *Copy of the Report of Governor Hopkins to the Board of Trade, on the Numbers of People in Rhode Island.*

In obedience to your Lordship's commands, I have caused the within account to be taken by officers under oath. By it there appears to be in this colony at this time 35,939 white persons, and 4,697 blacks, chiefly negroes.

In the year 1730, by order of the then lords commissioners of trade and plantations, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, and then there appeared to be 15,302 white persons, and 2,633 blacks.

Again in the year 1748, by like order, an account was taken of the number of people in this colony, by which it appears there were at that time 29,755 white persons, and 4,373 blacks.

STEPHEN HOPKINS.

Colony of Rhode Island, Dec. 24, 1755.

[2] *An Account of the Value of the Exports from England to Pensylvania, in one Year, taken at different Periods, viz.*

In 1723 they amounted only to	£15,992	19	4
1730 they were . . .	48,592	7	5
1737	56,690	6	7
1742	75,295	3	4
1747	82,404	17	7
1752	201,666	19	11
1757	268,426	6	6

N. B. The accounts for 1758 and 1759 are not yet compleated; but those acquainted with the *North American* trade, know, that the increase in those two years has been in a still greater proportion; the last year being supposed to exceed any former year by a third; and this owing to the increased ability of the people to spend, from the greater quantities of money circulating among them by the war.

suspected of carrying on manufactures, on account of the number of German artizans, who are known to have transplanted themselves into that country; though even these, in truth, when they come there, generally apply themselves to agriculture, as the surest support and most advantageous employment.

By this account it appears, that the exports to that province have, in 28 years, increased nearly in the proportion of 17 to 1; whereas the people themselves, who by other authentic accounts appear to double their numbers (the strangers who settle there included) in about 16 years, cannot in the 28 years have increased in a greater proportion than as 4 to 1: the additional demand then, and consumption of goods from *England*, of 13 parts in 17 more than the additional number would require, must be owing to this, that the people having by their industry mended their circumstances, are enabled to indulge themselves in finer cloaths, better furniture, and a more general use of all our manufactures than heretofore.

In fact, the occasion for *English* goods in *North America*, and the inclination to have and use them, is, and must be for ages to come, much greater than the ability of the people to pay for them; they must therefore, as they now do, deny themselves many things they would otherwise chuse to have, or increase their industry to obtain them; and thus, if they should at any time manufacture some coarse article, which on account of its bulk or some other circumstance, cannot so well be brought to them from *Britain*, it only enables them the better to pay for finer goods that otherwise they could not indulge themselves in: So that the exports thither are not diminished by such manufacture, but rather increased. The single article of manufacture in these colonies, mentioned

by the *remarker*, is *hats* made in *New England*. It is true there have been, ever since the first settlement of that country, a few hatters there, drawn thither probably at first by the facility of getting beaver, while the woods were but little clear'd, and there was plenty of those animals. The case is greatly alter'd now. The beaver skins are not now to be had in *New England*, but from very remote places and at great prices. The trade is accordingly declining there, so that, far from being able to make hats in any quantity for exportation, they cannot supply their home demand; and it is well known that some thousand dozens are sent thither yearly from *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*, and sold cheaper than the inhabitants can make them of equal goodness.

In fact, the colonies are so little suited for establishing of manufactures, that they are continually losing the few branches they accidentally gain. The working brasiers, cutlers, and pewterers, as well as hatters, who have happened to go over from time to time and settle in the colonies, gradually drop the working part of their business, and import their respective goods from England, whence they can have them cheaper and better than they can make them. They continue their shops indeed, in the same way of dealing; but become *sellers* of brasiery, cutlery, pewter, hats, &c. brought from England, instead of being *makers* of those goods.

Thus much as to the apprehension of our colonies becoming *useless* to us. I shall next consider the other supposition, that their growth may render them *dangerous*. Of this, I own, I have not the least conception, when I consider that we have already fourteen separate governments on the maritime coast of the continent, and if we extend our settlements shall probably have as many more behind them on the inland side.

Those we now have, are not only under different governors, but have different forms of government, different laws, different interests, and some of them different religious persuasions, and different manners.

Their jealousy of each other is so great, that however necessary an union of the colonies has long been, for their common defence and security against their enemies, and how sensible soever each colony has been of that necessity, yet they have never been able to effect such an union among themselves, nor even to agree in requesting the mother country to establish it for them. Nothing but the immediate command of the crown has been able to produce even the imperfect union, but lately seen there, of the forces of some colonies. If they could not agree to unite for their defence against the *French* and *Indians*, who were perpetually harassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people; can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have so many connections and ties of blood, interest and affection, and which 'tis well known they all love much more than they love one another?

In short, there are so many causes that must operate to prevent it, that I will venture to say, an union amongst them for such a purpose is not merely improbable, it is impossible; and if the union of the whole is impossible, the attempt of a part must be madness: as those colonies, that did not join the rebellion, would join the mother country in suppressing it. When I say such an union is impossible, I mean without the most grievous tyranny and oppression. People who have property in a country which they may lose, and privileges which they may endanger, are generally dispos'd to be quiet;

and even to bear much, rather than hazard all. While the government is mild and just, while important civil and religious rights are secure, such subjects will be dutiful and obedient. The waves do not rise but when the winds blow.

What such an administration, as the Duke of *Alva's* in the *Netherlands*, might produce, I know not; but this I think I have a right to deem impossible. And yet there were two very manifest differences between that case and ours; and both are in our favour. The first, that *Spain* had already united the seventeen provinces under one visible government, tho' the states continued independent: The second, that the inhabitants of those provinces were of a nation, not only different from, but utterly unlike the *Spaniards*. Had the *Netherlands* been peopled from *Spain*, the worst of oppression had probably not provoked them to wish a separation of government. It might, and probably would have ruined the country, but would never have produced an independent sovereignty. In fact, neither the very worst of governments, the worst of politicks in the last century, nor the total abolition of their remaining liberty, in the provinces of *Spain* itself, in the present, have produced any independency, that could be supported. The same may be observed of *France*.

And let it not be said that the neighbourhood of these to the seat of government has prevented a separation. While our strength at sea continues, the banks of the *Ohio* (in point of easy and expeditious conveyance of troops) are nearer to *London*, than the remote parts of *France* and *Spain* to their respective capitals; and much nearer than *Connaught* and *Ulster* were in the days of Queen *Elizabeth*. Nobody foretels the dissolution of the *Russian* monarchy from its extent, yet I will venture to say, the eastern parts of it are already

much more inaccessible from *Petersburgh*, than the country on the *Mississippi* is from *London;* I mean more men in less time, might be conveyed the latter than the former distance. The rivers *Oby*, *Jenesea* and *Lena*, do not facilitate the communication half so well by their course, nor are they half so practicable as the *American* rivers. To this I shall only add the observation of *Machiavel*, in his *Prince*, that a government seldom long preserves its dominion over those who are foreigners to it; who, on the other hand, fall with great ease, and continue inseparably annexed to the government of their own nation, which he proves by the fate of the *English conquests* in *France*. Yet with all these disadvantages, so difficult is it to overturn an established government, that it was not without the assistance of *France* and *England*, that the *United Provinces* supported themselves: which teaches us, that if the visionary danger of independence in our colonies is to be feared, nothing is more likely to render it substantial than the neighbourhood of foreigners at enmity with the sovereign government, capable of giving either aid[1] or an asylum, as the event shall require. Yet against even these disadvantages, did *Spain* preserve almost ten provinces, merely thro' their want of

[1] The *aid* Dr. Franklin alludes to must probably have consisted in early and full supplies of arms, officers, intelligence, and trade of export and of import, through the River St. Lawrence, on risks both public and private; in the encouragement of splendid promises and a great ally; in the passage from Canada to the back settlements being *shut* to the British forces; in the quiet of the great body of Indians; in the support of emissaries and discontented citizens; in loans and subsidies to Congress, in ways profitable to France; in a refuge to be granted them in case of defeat, in vacant lands, as settlers; in the probability of war commencing earlier between England and France, at the Gulf of St. Lawrence (when the shipping taken were rightfully addressed to Frenchmen) than in the present case. All this might have happened, as soon as America's distaste of England had exceeded the fear of the foreign nation;

union; which, indeed, could never have taken place among the others, but for causes, some of which are in our case impossible, and others it is impious to suppose possible.

The *Romans* well understood that policy which teaches the security arising to the chief government from separate states among the governed, when they restored the liberties of the states of *Greece* (oppressed but united under *Macedon*) by an edict that every state should live under its own laws.[1] They did not even name a governor. *Independence of each other, and separate interests*, tho' among a people united by common manners, language, and I may say religion, inferior neither in wisdom, bravery, nor their love of liberty, to the *Romans* themselves, was all the security the sovereigns wished for their sovereignty.

It is true, they did not call themselves sovereigns; they set no value on the title; they were contented with possessing the thing; and possess it they did, even without a standing army. What can be a stronger proof of the security of their possession? And yet by a policy similar to this throughout, was the *Roman* world subdued and held: a world composed of above a hundred languages and sets of manners, different

a circumstance frequently seen possible in history, and which the British ministers took care should not be wanting.

This explanation would have been superfluous, had not the opinion been very general in England, that, *had not the French been removed from Canada, the revolt of America never would have taken place.* Why, then, were the French *not left* in Canada at the peace of 1763? Or, since they were not left there, why was the American dispute begun? Yet, in one sense, perhaps this opinion is true; for *had* the French been left in Canada, the English ministers would not only have sooner felt, but sooner have seen, the strange fatality of their plans. — V.

[1] "Omnes Græcorum civitates, quæ in Europâ, quæque in Asiâ essent, libertatem ac suas leges haberent," &c. — Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 30.

from those of their masters.[1] Yet this dominion was unshakeable, till the loss of liberty and corruption of manners in the sovereign state overturned it.

But what is the prudent policy inculcated by the ***remarker***, to obtain this end, security of dominion over our colonies? It is, to leave the *French* in *Canada*, to "*check*" their growth, for otherwise our people may "increase infinitely from all causes."[2] We have already seen in what manner the *French* and their *Indians check the growth* of our colonies. 'Tis a modest word, this, *check*, for massacring men, women and children. The writer would, if he could, hide from himself as well as from the public, the horror arising from such a proposal, by couching it in general terms: 'tis no wonder he thought it a "subject not fit for discussion" in his letter, tho' he recommends it as "a point that should be the constant object of the minister's attention!"

But if *Canada* is restored on this principle, will not *Britain* be guilty of all the blood to be shed, all the murders to be committed, in order to check this dreaded growth of our own people? Will not this be telling the *French* in plain terms,

[1] When the *Romans* had subdu'd *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, they were both form'd into republicks by a decree of the senate, and *Macedon* was thought safe from the danger of a revolution, by being divided, into a division common among the *Romans*, as we learn from the tetrarchs in scripture. "Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios; ut omnibus gentibus appareret, arma populi Romani non liberis servitutem, sed contra servientibus libertatem afferre; ut et in libertate gentes quæ essent, tutam eam sibi perpetuamque sub tutelâ populi Romani esse: et quæ sub regibus viverent, et in presens tempus mitiores eos justioresque respectu populi Romani habere se, et si quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuisset suis, exitum ejus victoriam Romanis, sibi libertatem allaturum crederent. — In quatuor regiones describi Macedoniam, ut suum quæque concilium haberet, placuit: et dimidium tributi quàm quod regibus ferre soliti erant, populo Romano pendere. Similia his et in Illyricum mandata." — LIV. lib. 45. c. 18.

[2] Remarks, pp. 50, 51.

that the horrid barbarities they perpetrate with their *Indians* on our colonists are agreeable to us; and that they need not apprehend the resentment of a government with whose views they so happily concur? Will not the colonies view it in this light: Will they have reason to consider themselves any longer as subjects and children, when they find their cruel enemies halloo'd upon them by the country from whence they sprung, the government that owes them protection as it requires their obedience? Is not this the most likely means of driving them into the arms of the *French*, who can invite them by an offer of that security their own government chuses not to afford them? I would not be thought to insinuate, that the *remarker* wants humanity. I know how little many good-natured persons are affected by the distresses of people at a distance, and whom they do not know. There are even those, who, being present, can sympathize sincerely with the grief of a lady on the sudden death of a favourite bird, and yet can read of the sinking of a city in *Syria* with very little concern.

If it be, after all, thought necessary to *check* the growth of our colonies, give me leave to propose a method less cruel. It is a method of which we have an example in scripture. The murder of husbands, of wives, of brothers, sisters, and children, whose pleasing society has been for some time enjoyed, affects deeply the respective surviving relations: but grief for the death of a child just born is short and easily supported. The method I mean is that which was dictated by the *Egyptian* policy, when the "infinite increase" of the *children of Israel* was apprehended as dangerous to the state.[1]

[1] "And *Pharaoh* said unto his people, behold the people of the children of *Israel* are more and mightier than we; come on, let us deal *wisely* with

Let an act of parliament then be made, enjoining the colony midwives to stifle in the birth every third or fourth child. By this means you may keep the colonies to their present size. And if they were under the hard alternative of submitting to one or the other of these schemes for *checking* their growth, I dare answer for them, they would prefer the latter.

But all this debate about the propriety or impropriety of keeping or restoring *Canada* is possibly too early. We have taken the capital indeed, but the country is yet far from being in our possession; and perhaps never will be! for if our M — rs are persuaded by such counsellors as the *remarker*, that the *French* there are "not the worst of neighbours," and that, if we had conquered *Canada*, we ought for our own sakes to restore it, as a *check* to the growth of our colonies, I am then afraid we shall never take it. For there are many ways of avoiding the completion of the conquest, that will be less exceptionable and less odious than the giving it up.

The objection I have often heard, that if we had *Canada*, we could not people it, without draining *Britain* of its inhabitants, is founded on ignorance of the nature of population in new countries. When we first began to colonize in *America*, it was necessary to send people, and to send seed-corn; but it is not now necessary that we should furnish, for a new colony, either the one or the other. The annual increment alone of our present colonies, without diminishing their numbers, or requiring a man from hence, is sufficient in ten years to fill *Canada* with double the number of *English*, that it

them; *lest they multiply;* and it come to pass that when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. And the king spake to the *Hebrew* midwives," &c. — *Exodus*, Chap. i.

now has of *French* inhabitants.[1] Those who are protestants among the *French* will probably chuse to remain under the *English* government; many will chuse to remove, if they can be allowed to sell their lands, improvements, and effects: the rest in that thin-settled country will in less than half a century, from the crowds of *English* settling round and among them, be blended and incorporated with our people both in language and manners.

In *Guadalupe* the case is somewhat different; and though I am far from thinking [2] we have sugar-land enough,[3] I cannot think *Guadalupe* is so desirable an increase of it, as other objects the enemy would probably be infinitely more ready to part with. A country *fully inhabited* by any nation is no proper possession for another of different language, manners and religion. It is hardly ever tenable at less expence than it is worth. But the isle of *Cayenne*, and its appendix *Equinoctial-France*, having but very few inhabitants, and these therefore easily removed, would indeed be an acquisition every way suitable to our situation and desires. This would hold all that migrate from *Barbadoes*, the *Leeward Islands*, or *Jamaica*. It would certainly recal into an *English* government (in which there would be room for millions) all who have

[1] In fact, there has not gone from *Britain* itself to our colonies, these 20 years past, to settle there, so many as 10 families a year; the new settlers are either the offspring of the old, or emigrants from *Germany* or the north of *Ireland*.

[2] Remarks, pp. 30, 34.

[3] It is often said, we have plenty of sugar-land still unemployed in *Jamaica*: but those who are well acquainted with that island, know, that the remaining vacant land in it is generally situated among mountains, rocks and gullies, that make carriage impracticable, so that no profitable use can be made of it, unless the price of sugars should so greatly increase as to enable the planter to make very expensive roads, by blowing up rocks, erecting bridges, &c., every 2 or 300 yards.

before settled or purchased in *Martinico*, *Guadalupe*, *Santa Cruz*, or *St. John's;* except such as know not the value of an *English* government, and such I am sure are not worth recalling.

But should we keep *Guadalupe*, we are told it would enable us to export £300,000 in sugars. Admit it to be true, though perhaps the amazing increase of *English* consumption might stop most of it here, to whose profit is this to redound? To the profit of the *French* inhabitants of the island : except a small part that should fall to the share of the *English* purchasers, but whose whole purchase-money must first be added to the wealth and circulation of *France*. I grant, however, much of this £300,000 would be expended in *British* manufactures. Perhaps, too, a few of the land-owners of *Guadalupe* might dwell and spend their fortunes in *Britain* (though probably much fewer than of the inhabitants of North America). I admit the advantage arising to us from these circumstances, (as far as they go) in the case of *Guadalupe*, as well as in that of our other *West India* settlements. Yet even this consumption is little better than that of an allied nation would be, who should take our manufactures and supply us with sugar, and put us to no great expence in defending the place of growth.

But though our own colonies expend among us almost the whole produce of our sugar,[1] can we, or ought we to promise ourselves this will be the case of *Guadalupe?* One 100,000£ will supply them with *British* manufactures; and supposing we can effectually prevent the introduction of those of *France*, (which is morally impossible in a country used to them) the other 200,000 will still be spent in *France*, in the education of

[1] Remarks, p. 47.

their children and support of themselves; or else be laid up there, where they will always think their home to be.

Besides this consumption of *British* manufactures, much is said of the benefit we shall have from the situation of *Guadalupe;* and we are told of a trade to the *Caraccas* and *Spanish Main.* In what respect *Guadalupe* is better situated for this trade than *Jamaica*, or even any of our other islands, I am at a loss to guess. I believe it to be not so well situated for that of the windward coast, as *Tobago* and *St. Lucia*, which in this, as well as other respects, would be more valuable possessions, and which, I doubt not, the peace will secure to us. Nor is it nearly so well situated for that of the rest of the *Spanish Main* as *Jamaica.* As to the greater safety of our trade by the possession of *Guadalupe*, experience has convinced us that in reducing a single island, or even more, we stop the privateering business but little. Privateers still subsist, in equal if not greater numbers, and carry the vessels into *Martinico*, which before it was more convenient to carry into *Guadalupe.* Had we all the *Caribbees*, it is true, they would in those parts be without shelter.

Yet upon the whole I suppose it to be a doubtful point, and well worth consideration, whether our obtaining possession of all the *Caribbees* would be more than a temporary benefit, as it would necessarily soon fill the *French* part of *Hispaniola* with *French* inhabitants, and thereby render it five times more valuable in time of peace, and little less than impregnable in time of war; and would probably end in a few years in the uniting the whole of that great and fertile island under a *French* government. It is agreed on all hands, that our conquest of *St. Christopher's*, and driving the *French* from thence, first furnished *Hispaniola* with skilful and sub-

stantial planters, and was consequently the first occasion of its present opulence. On the other hand I will hazard an opinion, that valuable as the *French* possessions in the *West Indies* are, and undeniable the advantages they derive from them, there is somewhat to be weighed in the opposite scale. They cannot at present make war with *England*, without exposing those advantages while divided among the numerous islands they now have, much more than they would, were they possessed of *St. Domingo* only; their own share of which would, if well cultivated, grow more sugar than is now grown in all their *West India* Islands.

I have before said I do not deny the utility of the conquest, or even of our future possession of *Guadalupe*, if not bought too dear. The trade of the *West Indies* is one of our most valuable trades. Our possessions there deserve our greatest care and attention. So do those of *North America*. I shall not enter into the invidious task of comparing their due estimation. It would be a very long and a very disagreeable one, to run through every thing material on this head. It is enough to our present point, if I have shown, that the value of *North America* is capable of an immense increase, by an acquisition and measures, that must necessarily have an effect the direct contrary of what we have been industriously taught to fear; and that *Guadalupe* is, in point of advantage, but a very small addition to our *West India* possessions, rendered many ways less valuable to us, than it is to the *French*, who will probably set more value upon it than upon a country that is much more valuable to us than to them.

There is a great deal more to be said on all the parts of these subjects; but as it would carry me into a detail that I fear would tire the patience of my readers, and which I am

not without apprehensions I have done already, I shall reserve what remains till I dare venture again on the indulgence of the publick.

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291. TO DAVID HUME[1]

Coventry, September 27, 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I have too long postponed answering your obliging letter, a fault I will not attempt to excuse, but rather rely on your goodness to forgive it, if I am more punctual for the future.

I am obliged to you for the favourable sentiments you express of the pieces sent to you; though the volume relating to our Pennsylvania affairs was not written by me, nor any part of it, except the remarks on the Proprietor's estimate of his estate, and some of the inserted messages and reports of the Assembly, which I wrote when at home, as a member of committees appointed by the House for that service. The rest was by another hand.[2]

But though I am satisfied by what you say, that the Duke of Bedford was hearty in the scheme of the expedition, I am not so clear that others in the administration were equally in earnest in that matter. It is certain, that, after the Duke of Newcastle's first orders to raise troops in the colonies, and promise to send over commissions to the officers, with arms and clothing for the men, we never had another syllable from him for eighteen months; during all which time the army lay idle at Albany for want of orders and necessaries; and it

[1] Original in the Royal Philosophical Society, Edinburgh. — ED.

[2] "The Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania." See Introduction, Vol. I, p. 137. — ED.

began to be thought at last, that, if an expedition had ever been intended, the first design and the orders given must, through the multiplicity of business here at home, have been quite forgotten.[1]

I am not a little pleased to hear of your change of sentiments in some particulars relating to America; because I think it of importance to our general welfare, that the people of this nation should have right notions of us, and I know no one, that has it more in his power to rectify their notions than Mr. Hume. I have lately read with great pleasure, as I do every thing of yours, the excellent Essay on the *Jealousy of Commerce*. I think it cannot but have a good effect in promoting a certain interest, too little thought of by selfish man, and scarcely ever mentioned, so that we hardly have a name for it; I mean the *interest of humanity*, or common good of mankind. But I hope, particularly from that Essay, an abatement of the jealousy, that reigns here, of the commerce of the colonies, at least so far as such abatement may be reasonable.

I thank you for your friendly admonition relating to some unusual words in the pamphlet. It will be of service to me. The "*pejorate*," and the "*colonize*," since they are not in common use here, I give up as bad; for certainly in writings intended for persuasion and for general information, one cannot be too clear; and every expression in the least obscure is a fault. The "*unshakeable*" too, though clear, I give up as rather low.[2] The introducing new words, where we are already possessed of old ones sufficiently expressive, I confess

[1] This was the expedition projected against Canada in the year 1746. — S.

[2] The words in question occur in Vol. III, p. 68, and Vol. IV, p. 75. — Ed.

must be generally wrong, as it tends to change the language; yet, at the same time, I cannot but wish the usage of our tongue permitted making new words, when we want them, by composition of old ones whose meanings are already well understood. The German allows of it, and it is a common practice with their writers. Many of our present English words were originally so made; and many of the Latin words. In point of clearness, such compound words would have the advantage of any we can borrow from the ancient or from foreign languages. For instance, the word *inaccessible*, though long in use among us, is not yet, I dare say, so universally understood by our people, as the word *uncomeatable* would immediately be, which we are not allowed to write. But I hope with you, that we shall always in America make the best English of this Island our standard, and I believe it will be so. I assure you it often gives me pleasure to reflect, how greatly the *audience* (if I may so term it) of a good English writer will, in another century or two, be increased by the increase of English people in our colonies.

My son presents his respects with mine to you and Dr. Monro.[1] We received your printed circular letter to the members of the Society,[2] and purpose some time next winter to send each of us a little philosophical essay. With the greatest esteem, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Alexander Monro (1697–1767). — ED.

[2] A Philosophical Society lately established at Edinburgh. — ED.

292. TO LORD KAMES

Coventry, September 27, 1760.

MY DEAR LORD,

We are here upon a journey, which when first proposed was to have extended farther than the season will now permit. We designed going over to Ireland, and, having made the tour of that country, we were to have crossed from its northern part to Dumfries, or some other port on your coast, which would have given us the pleasing opportunity of seeing once more our friends in Scotland. This, if we could have left London early in the summer; but the litigation between our province and its Proprietor, in which we were engaged, confined us in London till the middle of this month. That cause is indeed at length ended, and in a great degree to our satisfaction; but, by its continuing so long, we are disappointed in our hopes of spending some more happy days at Kames, with you and your amiable family.

I do not pretend to charge this to your account as a letter. It is rather to acknowledge myself in your debt, and to promise payment. It is some time since I received your obliging favour of June last. When I return to London, which we intend after seeing Cheshire, Wales, Bristol, and spending some time at Bath, I hope to be a more punctual correspondent. I am your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Our thanks to Lady Kames for the receipt. Enclosed we send the *Chapter*.[1]

[1] This "Chapter" was the "Parable against Persecution." See Introduction, Vol. I, p. 181. This letter was first printed by Sparks. — ED.

293. TO ISAAC NORRIS, ESQ., SPEAKER (A. P. S.)

DEAR SIR London Novr 19, 1760.

This is just to acknowledge the Receipt of your Favours of Augt 24. & 27. with the Bill for 100 £ on Messrs Thomlinson &c. N. 1876, & to acquaint you, that I have at length receiv'd the Money from the Exchequer and lodg'd it in the Bank as nearly agreeable to the Directions of the Act as I possibly could; for they would not, as I acquainted you before, receive it subject to the Drafts of the Trustees in Pensylvania, it being contrary to their Rules. — The House will consider what is to be done with it, & send me the necessary Directions. If I were to advise, it should be to lay it out in the Stocks, which will certainly at a Peace produce a Profit of near 20 per Cent. besides the intermediate Interest. I am applying for the Grant of 1759, but nothing is yet done in it. I shall write more fully per Bolitho. With the greatest Esteem, I am, &c B. F.

P. S. The Sum lodg'd in the Bank belonging to the Province is £26,648..4..6. out of which I have some Fees to pay, of which I have had the Acc^t.

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294. TO JOHN BASKERVILLE[1] (L. C.)

DEAR SIR, Craven Street, London, 1760.

Let me give you a pleasant Instance of the Prejudice some have entertained against your Work. Soon after I returned,

[1] Stevens Collection (31), L. C. copy, with an additional page of biographical memoranda of Baskerville (1706–1775). This letter was written four

discoursing with a Gentleman concerning the Artists of Birmingham, he said you would [be] a Means of blinding all the Readers in the Nation; for the Strokes of your Letters, being too thin and narrow, hurt the Eye, and he could never read a Line of them without Pain. "I thought," said I, "you were going to complain of the Gloss of the Paper, some object to." "No, no," says he, "I have heard that mentioned, but it is not that; it Is in the Form and Cut of the Letters themselves; they have not that Height and Thickness of the Stroke, which make the common Printing so much the more comfortable to the Eye." You see this Gentleman was a *Connoisseur*. In vain I endeavoured to support your character against the Charge; he knew what he felt, and could see the Reason of it, and several other Gentlemen among his Friends had made the same Observation, &c.

Yesterday he called to visit me, when, mischievously bent to try his Judgment, I stept into my Closet, tore off the Top of Mr. Caslon's specimen, and produced it to him as yours, brought with me from Birmingham; saying, I had been examining it, since he spoke to me, and could not for my Life perceive the Disproportion he mentioned, desiring him to point it out to me. He readily undertook it, and went over the several Founts, showing me everywhere what he thought Instances of that Disproportion; and declared, that he could not then read the Specimen, without feeling very strongly the Pain he had mentioned to me. I spared him that Time the Confusion of being told, that these were the

years after Baskerville published his quarto Virgil, which "astonished all the librarians of Europe." Franklin was much interested in Baskerville's "Milton" (1758), and secured subscribers for it. — ED.

Types he had been reading all his life, with so much Ease to his Eyes; the Types his adored Newton is printed with, on which he has pored not a little; nay, the very Types his own Book is printed with, (for he is himself an Author,) and yet never discovered this painful Disproportion in them, till he thought they were yours. I am, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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295. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN

London, 1760.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Yesterday I received your letter of February 10th, in which you mention that it was some months since you heard from me. During my journey I wrote several times to you, particularly from Liverpool and Glasgow, and since my return some very long letters, that might have been with you before your last to me; but I suppose the severe winter on your coast, among other delays, has kept the vessels out. One packet, Bonnel, was blown quite back to England.

I am sorry for the death of your black boy, as you seem to have had a regard for him. You must have suffered a good deal in the fatigue of nursing him in such a distemper. F——[1] has wrote me a very idle letter, desiring me not to furnish the woman, pretending to be his wife, with any thing on his account, and says the letters she shows are a forgery. But I have one she left with me, in which he acknowledges her to be his wife, and the children his, and I am sure it is his handwriting by comparing it with this he has now wrote to me and a former one. So he must be a very bad man, and I am

[1] A watchmaker, of Philadelphia. — ED.

glad I never knew him. She was sick and perishing with her children in the beginning of the winter, and has had of me in all about four guineas. What is become of her now, I know not. She seemed a very helpless body, and I found her in some falsehoods that disgusted me; but I pitied the poor children, the more as they were descended though remotely from our good old friends, whom you remember.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that our business draws near a conclusion, and that in less than a month we shall have a hearing, after which I shall be able to fix a time for my return. My love to all, from, dear Debby, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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296. TO THE PRINTER OF THE LONDON CHRONICLE [1] (A. P. S.)

SIR

I met lately with an old Quarto Book on a Stall, the Title-Page and the Author's Name wanting, but containing Discourses, address'd to some King of Spaine, on the Means of extending the Greatness of that Monarchy, translated into English, and said in the last Leaf, to be printed at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie, MDCXXIX. The Author appears to have been a Jesuit, for, speaking of that Order in two Places, he calls it *our Society*. Give me leave to communicate to the Public a Chapter of it, so *apropos* to our present Situation, (only changing Spain for France,) that I think it well worth general Attention and Observation, as it

[1] From A. P. S. (d.). The document is undated. — ED.

discovers the Arts of our Enemies, and may therefore help in some Degree to put us on our Guard against them.

What Effect the Artifices here recommended might have had in the Times when our Author wrote, I cannot pretend to say; but I believe, the present Age being more enlightened and our People better acquainted than formerly with our true National Interest, such Arts can now hardly prove so generally successfull; for we may with Pleasure observe, and to the Honour of the British People, that tho' Writings and Discourses like these have lately not been wanting, yet few in any of the Classes he particularizes seem to be affected by them, but all Ranks and Degrees among us persist hitherto in declaring for a vigorous Prosecution of the War, in Preference to an unsafe, disadvantageous, or dishonourable Peace; yet as a little Change of Fortune may make such Writings more attended to and give them greater Weight, I think the Publication of this Piece, as it shows the Spring from whence these Scriblers draw their poisoned Waters, may be of publick Utility. I am, &c. A BRITON.

"CHAP. XXXIV.

"*Of the Meanes of disposing the Enemie to Peace.*

"Warres, with whatsoever Prudence undertaken and conducted, do not always succeed; many thinges out of Man's Power to governe, such as Dearth of Provision, Tempests, Pestilence, and the like, oftentimes interfering and totally overthrowing the best Designes; so that these Enemies (England and Holland) of our Monarchy, tho' apparently at first the weaker, may by disastrous Events of War, on our Part, become the stronger, and tho' not in such degree, as to endanger the Body of this great Kingdom, yet, by their

greater Power of Shipping and Aptness in Sea Affairs, to be able to cut off, if I may so speak, some of its smaller Limbs and Members, that are remote therefrom and not easily defended, to wit, our Islands and Colonies in the Indies; thereby however depriving the Body of its wonted Nourishement, so that it must thenceforthe languish and grow weake, if those Parts are not recovered which possibly may by continuance of Warre be found unlikely to be done. And the Enemy puffed up with their Successes, and hoping still for more, may not be disposed to Peace on such Termes as would be suitable to the Honour of your Majestie, and to the Welfare of your State and Subjects. In such Case, the following Meanes may have good Effect.

"It is well knowne, that these Northerne People, though hardie of Body and bold in Fight, be nevertheless, through overmuch Eating and other Intemperance, slowe of Wit, and dull in Understanding, so that they are oftimes more easilie to be governed and turn'd by Skill than by Force. There is therefore always Hope, that by wise Counsel and dextrous Management, those Advantages, which through crosse Accidents in Warre, have been lost, may again with Honour be recovered. In this Place I shall say little of the Power of Money secretly distributed among Grandees or their Friends or Paramours; that Method being in all Ages known and Practised. If the *Minds* of Enemies can be *changed*, they may be brought to grant willingly and for nothing what much Gold would scarcely have otherwise prevailed to obtaine. Yet as the procuring this Change is to be by fitte Instruments, some few Doublones will not unprofitably be disbursed by your Majestie. The manner whereof I shall now briefely recite.

"In those Countries, and particularly in England, there are not wanting Menne of Learning, ingenious Speakers and Writers, who are nevertheless in lowe Estate, and pinched by Fortune. These being privately gained by proper Meanes, must be instructed in their Sermons, Discourses, Writings, Poems, and Songs, to handle and specially inculcate Points like these which followe. Let them magnifie the Blessings of Peace, and enlarge mightily thereon, which is not unbecoming grave Divines and other Christian Menne. Let them expatiate on the Miseries of Warre, the Waste of Christian Blood, the growing Scarcitie of Labourers and Workmen, the Dearness of all foreign Wares and Merchandise, the Interruption of Commerce, the Captures of Ships, the Increase and great Burthen of Taxes. Let them represent the Warre as an unmeasurable Advantage to Particulars, and to Particulars only, (thereby to excite Envie against those, who manage and provide for the same,) while so prejudicial to the Commonweale and People in general. Let them represent the Advantages gained against us as trivial and of little import; the Places taken from us, as of small Trade and Produce, inconvenient for Situation, unwholesome for Climate and Ayre, useless to their Nations, and greatlie chargeable to keepe, draining the home Countries both of Menne and Money.

"Let them urge, that, if a Peace be forced on us, and those Places withhelde, it will nourishe secret Griefe and Malice in the King and Grandees of Spaine, which will ere long breake forthe in new Warres, when those Places may again be retaken, without the Merit and Grace of restoring them willingly for Peace' Sake. Let them represent the making or continuance of Warres, from view of Gaine, to be Base

and unworthy a brave People, as those made from Views of Ambition are mad and wicked. Let them insinuate that the Continuance of the present Warre, on their parte, hath these Ingredients in its Nature. Then let them magnifie the Great Power of your Majestie, and the Strength of your Kingdome, the inexhaustible Wealthe of your Mines, the Greatness of your Incomes, and thence your Abilitie of continuing the Warre; hinting withal the new Alliances you may possiblie make; at the same time setting forth the sincere Disposition you have for Peace, and that it is only a Concerne for your Honour, and the Honour of your Realme, that induceth you to insist on the Restitution of the places taken.

"If, with all this, they shrewdly intimate, and cause it to be understood by artful Words and believed, that their own Prince is himself in heart for Peace, on your Majestie's Terms, and grieved at the Obstinacy and Perverseness of those among his People who are for continuing the Warre, a marvellous Effect shall by these Discourses and Writings be produced; and a wonderful strong Party shall your Majestie raise among your Enemies in favour of the Peace you desire; insomuch that their own Princes and wisest Counsellours will in a Sorte be constrained to yeeld thereto. For in this Warre of Wordes, the Avarice and Ambition, the Hopes and Fears, and all the Crowd of Human Passions will be raised and put in array to fight for your Interests against the reall and substantiall Interest of their own Countries. The simple and undiscerning Many shall be carried away by the plausibilitie and well-seeming of these Discourses; and the Opinions becoming more popular, all the Rich Men, who have great Possessions, and fear the continuance of Taxes, and hope Peace will end them, shall be

emboldened thereby to crie aloud for Peace; their Dependents, who are many, must do the same.

"All Merchaunts, fearing Loss of Ships and greater Burthens on Trade by farther Duties and Subsidies, and hoping greater Profits by the ending of the Warre, shall join in the Crie for Peace. All the Usurers and Lenders of Money to the State, who on a Peace hope great Profit on their Bargains, and fear if the Warre be continued the State shall become Bankeroute, and unable to paye them; these, who have no small weighte, shall join the Crie for Peace. All who maligne the bold Conductors of the Warre, and envie the Glorie they may have thereby obtained; these shall crie aloud for Peace; hoping that when the Warre shall cease, such Menne becoming less necessarie shall be more lightly esteemed, and themselves more sought after. All the Officers of the Enemie's Armies and Fleets, who wish for Repose and to enjoy their Salaries or Rewardes in Quietnesse, and without Peril; these and their Friends and Families, who desire their Safetie and the Solace of their Societie, shall all crie for Peace.

"All those who be timorous by Nature, amongste whom be reckoned Menne of Learning that lead sedentarie Lives, using little Exercise of Bodie, and thence obtaining but few and weake Spirits; great Statesmen, whose natural Spirits be exhausted by much thinking, or depress'd by overmuch Feasting; together with all Women, whose Power, weake as they are, is not a little amongste the Menne; these shall incessantly speake for Peace: and finally all Courtiers, who suppose they conforme thereby to the Inclinations of the Prince, (*ad Exemplum Regis* &c.); all who are in Places, fear to lose them, or hope for better; all who are out of Places,

and hope to obtaine them; with all the worldly minded Clergy, who seeke Preferment; these, with all the Weighte of their Character and Influence, shall join the Crie for Peace; till it becomes one universal Clamour, and no Sound, but that of Peace, Peace, Peace, shall be heard from every Quarter.

"Then shall your Majestie's Termes of Peace be listened to with much readinesse, the Places taken from you be willingly restored, and your Kingdom, recovering its Strength, shall only need to waite a few Years for more favourable Occasions, when the Advantages to your Power, proposed by beginning the Warre, but lost by its bad Successe, shall with better Fortune, be finally obtained."

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297. TO HUGH ROBERTS[1] (P. C.)

London, Feb. 26, 1761.

DEAR FRIEND,

I think I have before acknowledg'd the Receipt of your Favour of the 15th of the 5th Month, 1760. (I use your own Notation, because I cannot tell what Month it was, without Reckoning.) I thank you for it, however, once more. I receiv'd it by the hand of your Son, and had the Pleasure withal of seeing him grown up a solid, sensible young Man. You will have, I see, a great deal of Satisfaction in him, and I congratulate you cordially on that head.

I was glad to hear that the Hospital is still supported. I write to the Managers by this Ship. In my Journeys thro' England and Scotland I have visited several of the same kind,

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. C. Morton Smith. — ED.

which I think were all in a good Way. I send you by this Ship sundry of their Accounts and Rules, which were given me; possibly you may find a useful Hint or two in some of them. I believe we shall be able to make a small Collection here; but I cannot promise it will be very considerable.

You tell me you sometimes visit the ancient Junto. I wish you would do it oftner. I know they all love and respect you, and regret your absenting yourself so much. People are apt to grow strange, and not understand one another so well, when they meet but seldom. Since we have held that Club, till we are grown grey together, let us hold it out to the End. For my own Part, I find I love Company, Chat, a Laugh, a Glass, and even a Song, as well as ever; and at the same Time relish better than I used to do the grave Observations and wise Sentences of old Men's Conversation; so that I am sure the Junto will be still as agreeable to me as it ever has been. I therefore hope it will not be discontinu'd, as long as we are able to crawl together.

I thank you for the frequent kind Visits you are so good as to make my little Family. I now hope in a little Time to have the Pleasure of seeing them, and thanking my Friends in Person. With the sincerest Esteem and Regard, I am, dear Friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

Billy presents his regards.

298. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Monday, March 30, 1761.

. . . . . .

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Supposing the Fact, that the Water of the Well at Bristol is warmer after some time pumping, I think your manner of accounting for that increas'd Warmth very ingenious and probable. It did not occur to me, and therefore I doubted of the Fact.

You are, I think, quite right in your Opinion, that the Rising of the Tides in Rivers is not owing to the immediate Influence of the Moon on the Rivers. It is rather a subsequent Effect of the Influence of the Moon on the Sea, and does not make its Appearance in some Rivers till the Moon has long pass'd by. I have not express'd myself clearly, if you have understood me to mean otherwise. You know I have mention'd it as a Fact, that there are in some Rivers several Tides all existing at the same time; that is, two, three, or more High-waters, and as many Low-waters, in different Parts of the same River, which cannot possibly be all Effects of the Moon's immediate Action on that River; but they may be subsequent Effects of her Action on the Sea.

In the enclos'd Paper you will find my Sentiments on several Points relating to the Air, and the Evaporation of Water. It is Mr. Collinson's Copy, who took it from one I sent thro' his Hands to a Correspondent in France some Years since; I have, as he desired me, corrected the Mistakes he made in transcribing, and must return it to him;

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

but if you think it worth while, you may take a Copy of it. I would have sav'd you any trouble of that kind, but had not time.

Some day in the next or the following Week, I purpose to have the pleasure of seeing you at Wanstead.[1] I shall accompany your good Mama there, and stay till the next Morning, if it may be done without incommoding your Family too much. We may then discourse any Points in this Paper that do not seem clear to you; and, taking a Walk to some of Lord Tilney's Ponds, make a few Experiments there to explain the Nature of the Tides more fully. In the mean time, believe me to be, with the highest Esteem and Regard,

Your sincerely affectionate Friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

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299. TO JOSIAH QUINCY[2]

London, April 8, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I received your very obliging letter of December 25th, by the hand of your valuable son, who had before favoured me now and then with a kind visit. I congratulate you on his account, as I am sure you must have a great deal of satisfaction in him. His ingenuous, manly, and generous behaviour, in a transaction here with the Society of Arts, gave me great pleasure, as it was much to his reputation.[3]

[1] Home of Mrs. Tickell, aunt of Mary Stevenson. — ED.

[2] First printed by Sparks. Josiah Quincy (1709–1784), Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment, was appointed in 1755 joint commissioner with Thomas Pownall to negotiate with the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania for aid in erecting a frontier barrier against the French, at Ticonderoga. — ED.

[3] Edmund Quincy was the eldest son of Josiah Quincy. The allusion in

I am glad my weak endeavours for our common interest were acceptable to you and my American friends. I shall be very happy indeed, if any good arises from them. The people in power here do now seem convinced of the truth of the principles I have inculcated, and incline to act upon them; but how far they will be able to do so at a peace, is still uncertain, especially as the war in Germany grows daily less favourable to us. My kinsman, Williams,[1] was but ill informed in the account he gave you of my situation here. The Assembly voted me fifteen hundred pounds sterling, when I left Philadelphia, to defray the expense of

the letter is explained by the following passage from the "Memoir of Thomas Hollis": "In a letter, dated July 2d, 1760, Dr. Mayhew had recommended to Mr. Hollis's good offices Mr. Edmund Quincy, a gentleman of liberal education, who had been in trade several years, and was come to London with a design to settle a mercantile correspondence there, his father being a gentleman of very considerable fortune in New England. Mr. Quincy had thoughts of engaging in the potash business, but was at some loss about the premium for encouraging importation; and the purpose of Dr. Mayhew's application to Mr. Hollis was, that, as Mr. Hollis was a member of the Society of Arts and Commerce, he would be both able and willing to resolve any doubts Mr. Quincy might be under respecting that matter." — Vol. I, p. 120.

By a letter from Mr. Quincy to Mr. Hollis, dated July 25th, 1766, it appears that he was successful in his scheme for manufacturing potash. "I have the pleasure to inform you," said he, "that the manufacture of potash is now so firmly established, it needs no further assistance from the Society, than their instruction how to assay it, so as to detect fraud, and maintain its credit, concerning which the Society will have a letter from our General Assembly. As far as my influence extends, I have encouraged the culture of silk in this part of the world; and I doubt not, in the course of four or five years, or as soon as mulberry trees can be brought to be of use, we shall be able to make some figure in that article, especially should the Society's bounty be continued on that commodity; for we find by experience, that the severity of our winters is no detriment to the eggs of the silk worm, wherever deposited." — *Ibid.*, p. 337.

Edmund Quincy died at sea, March 31st, 1768, on his homeward voyage from the West Indies, at the age of thirty-five. — ED.

[1] Jonathan Williams. — ED.

my voyage and negotiations in England, since which they have given nothing more, though I have been here near four years. They will, I make no doubt, on winding up the affair, do what is just; but they cannot afford to be extravagant, as that report would make them.

Pray make my best respects acceptable to your amiable family, and do me the justice to believe, that no one more sincerely wishes a continuance of your happiness, than, dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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300. TO HENRY POTTS[1] (P. R. O.)

Craven Street, April 23, 1761

SIR

In obedience to the Commands of His Majesty's Postmaster General, signified to me by you, I have considered Governor Boone's Letter to my Lord Bessborough & the Extract of his Letter to John Pownall, Esq Secretary to the Board of Trade, containing a Complaint of some Inconveniency to him arising from "the Posts not passing thro' Perth-Amboy and Burlington (the Route established by Act of Parliament) in their way between Philadelphia and New York;" and alledging, that "thro' this Omission it has happen'd and may happen again that Dispatches received by him from the Plantation Office could not be answered by the first Pacquet, whence he may sometimes appear

[1] The document is endorsed: "*New Jersey*, Letter from H. Potts, Esqr. Secr^y to the Post Master Genl to Mr. Pownall, dated April 29, 1761, inclos^d the copy of a Letter to him from Mr. Franklyn, joint dep^ty post master Genl, in No. America relative to the Alteration which Mr. Boone desird might be made in the route of the post through New Jersey. Rec^d Read May 1, 1761, K. 11." — ED.

tardy to their Lordships with all the Inclinations to be otherwise, &c."

It is true that the Post Route was thro' the Towns of Burlington and Amboy in New Jersey, before & at the Time of making the act of Queen Anne for Establishing the Post Office, and therefore those Towns were mentioned in the Act so far as to settle the Rates of Postage between them and the Cities of New York and Philadelphia; but it has never been understood that the Route was established by such mention of those places, or that the Act bound the Post Office to continue the Posts in any Route then used, if one better and more convenient could be found. Nor indeed would such Restraints in an Act of Parliament relating to America, be of utility, but the contrary. For our first settlements there being near the Sea, the first Roads are of course along the Coast where interrupting Waters from Bays & inlets are more frequent, and Rivers wider and more difficult of Passage, but in Process of time, as the People settle farther back & clear the upland Country, more convenient Roads are found, the Bays and Inlets avoided, & the Interruption of Ferries less frequent, as many Rivers are fordable up the Country, that cannot be cross'd near their Mouths but in Boats, —

Something like this has been the Case with regard to the Old and New Roads thro' the Province of New Jersey. As soon as the new road in the upper parts of that Province was open'd, Travellers between Philadelphia & New York began gradually to abandon the Old Road, which was not so convenient; and after some time, on an Application made to Col. Spotswood, then Deputy Postmaster General, the Post Route was also chang'd from the Old Road to the New. —

This Change was made about Thirty Years ago, and some Years before I had any Concern in the Office; but as it was a matter much talk'd of at the time, I remember well the Reasons that were given for the Change which were these, viz.

That the Ferry over the River Delaware from Bristol to Burlington, to be pass'd in travelling the old Road, was a mile and half wide, and in Winter often incumbered with Ice, so as greatly to delay the Post. That the old Road, from Burlington to Amboy was for 50 miles chiefly a heavy loose sand, very fatiguing to the Horses: — That being thro' a barren Country, it was not well inhabited, nor the Inns well supply'd with Provisions: — That being less travelled than formerly, there was not the same Care taken to provide suitable Accomodations for Travellers; so that no Gentleman passing between New York and Philadelphia tho' desirous of riding Post, could well travel with him; That this gradual disuse of the Road occasion'd less care to be taken of the Bridges which were often out of Repair, so that in rainy Seasons crossing the Brooks & Branches of Rivers became dangerous and sometimes impracticable to the great delay and Injury of Travellers: — That the Ferry over to Amboy necessary to be pass'd on this Road, was near two Miles wide being at the mouth of Raritan River, and often so rough from high Winds, or so incumbered with Ice as to be impassable for many Hours, to the great delay of the Post as well as other Travellers; and after the Post was got to Amboy, he had still three large Ferries to cross between that Place and New York, viz the Ferry over to Staten Island, the Ferry from Staten Island to long Island 3 miles wide, and the Ferry from Long Island to New York, in all

which Places the Ferrymen were generally very dilatory and backward to carry the Post in bad Weather, availing themselves of every excuse, as they were by Law to receive no Ferriage of him. — On the other Hand, the new Road was over better Ground & kept in better Repair; there were every where good Accomodations at the Inns; — Delaware River was to be cross'd at Trenton, and Raritan River at Brunswick, where they are both narrow, and the latter fordable at Low Water; and the People at Elizabeth Town Point, undertook voluntarily to have a stout Boat always ready to carry the Post & his Company directly to New York, by which the three last mention'd Ferries were avoided.

The Change being accordingly made, the Post went no more thro' Burlington & Amboy; but those Places on that Account suffered very little Inconveniency; For an Office was still continu'd at each of them; and their Letters sent over to proper Places on the New Post Road, to be carried forward by the Post; and this was easy to do, it being only cross the Ferry from Burlington to Bristol, thro' which the Post goes; and but 4 miles from Amboy to Woodbridge thro' which he also goes. And the Letters for Burlington were in like manner sent over to that Office from Bristol, & those for Amboy sent to that Office from Woodbridge. — Tho' the Letters to and from each Place by Post were always extreamly few, as they are Towns of little or no Foreign Trade, the chief Dealing of Amboy being with New York, & that of Burlington with Philadelphia, to and from which Places Boats are going almost every day, by which they always chose to send their Letters, even when the Post pass'd thro' them. — On the other hand, two other large & thriving Towns, who make much more use of the Post, are accom-

odated by it on the New Road, viz. Trenton & Brunswick; not to mention Prince town where a College is lately erected, Woodbridge & Elizabeth Town, thro' all which Places the new Road passes, and where offices have been long established.

It is now near 24 Years that I have been concern'd in the management of the offices between Philadelphia and New York, and in all that time have had no Complaint made to me of Inconvenience from the Posts continuing the Route I found them in. — And I must own myself at a Loss to conceive the difficulty Governor Boone mentions of his Corresponding regularly with the Board of Trade, and that "Dispatches receiv'd from their Lordships *could not* be answered by the first Pacquet, thro' the Posts omission of Burlington & Amboy in their Route." His Excellency resides at Amboy, and the Letters for him which arrive at New York in the Pacquet, must be forwarded to him at farthest within three days, as the Post goes from New York twice a Week and passes within 4 miles of Amboy at Woodbridge, where the Governor's Letters are left, and sent to him immediately by a special messenger from the Office there. The Post returns twice a Week from Philadelphia to New York, and passing thro' Woodbridge takes up and carries forward any Letters left there. The Pacquet stays at New York at least 20 Days, and During that time the Post passes 6 times thro' Woodbridge to New York, and would carry forward any Letters the Governor should lodge at Woodbridge for that purpose. And if he happened to be at Burlington with his Assembly, the Post passes equally often thro' Bristol (within a mile & half of him only just cross a Ferry) where it cannot be much Trouble to send his Letters. So that on

the whole I am persuaded it must appear, when duly consider'd, that his Excellency's Want of Punctuality in his Correspondence with their Lordships cannot justly be charg'd to the Account of the Post Office.

Mr. Barnard, immediate Predecessor of Governor Boone tho' he also liv'd at Amboy, made no Complaint of this kind that I ever heard of. Nor did the next preceding Governor Belcher, tho' he liv'd great Part of his time at Burlington. The Governors of New Jersey have sometimes liv'd on the New Road, at Trenton and at Elizabeth Town; and as there is no fix'd Place of Residence for Governors in that Province, future Governors may happen to chuse some of the Towns on the New Road; so that if the Post Route were chang'd to Gratify Governor Boone, the next Governor might desire to have it back again. And I apprehend that the Delays formerly experienced so frequently in the Detention of the Post by the wide Ferries in Winter, would if the old Route was resum'd occasion great Dissatisfaction to the Governors of Pensilvania, New York & New England, who as well as the Merchants of their great Trading Towns would probably remonstrate warmly against it.

Nevertheless, if His Majesty's Postmaster General should upon the whole think fit to order the old Route to be resum'd, and the new one with all the Offices so long established upon it to be drop't it is my Duty to carry their orders into Execution, which I shall do with great Readiness and Fidelity.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient

humble servant

B. FRANKLIN.

301. TO EDWARD PENINGTON[1]

London, May 9, 1761.

SIR,

I enclose you a letter from your kinsman, Mr. Springet Penn,[2] with whom I had no acquaintance until lately, but have the pleasure to find him a very sensible, discreet young man, with excellent dispositions, which makes me the more regret, that the government as well as property of our province should pass out of that line. There has, by his account, been something very mysterious in the conduct of his uncle, Mr. Thomas Penn, towards him. He was his guardian; but, instead of endeavouring to educate him at home under his eye in a manner becoming the elder branch of their house, has from his infancy been endeavouring to get rid of him.

He first proposed sending him to the East Indies. When that was declined, he had a scheme of sending him to Russia; but, the young gentleman's mother absolutely refusing to let him go out of the kingdom, unless to Pennsylvania to be educated in the college there, he would by no means hear of his going thither, but bound him an apprentice to a county attorney in an obscure part of Sussex, which, after two years' stay, finding that he was taught nothing valuable, nor could see any company that might improve him, he left, and re-

[1] First printed by Sparks. Edward Penington was a merchant of Philadelphia, descended from Isaac Penington, who married Lady Springett (1654). William Penn married Gulielma Springett, stepdaughter of Isaac Penington. — ED.

[2] Springett Penn, 3d (1738–1762), son of William Penn, 3d. Howard M. Jenkins thought that the remarks in this letter were inspired by Ann Penn (the mother of Springett), and that the date of the letter should be 1760. See "The Family of William Penn" (Jenkins), 1899, p. 215. — ED.

turned to his mother, with whom he has been ever since, much neglected by his uncle, except lately that he has been a little civil, to get him to join in a power of attorney to W. Peters and R. Hockley for the sale of some Philadelphia lots, of which he is told three undivided fourth parts belong to him. But he is not shown the right he has to them; nor has he any plan of their situation, by which he may be advised of their value; nor was he told, till lately, that he had any such right, which makes him suspect that he may have other rights that are concealed from him.

In some letters to his father's eldest brother, Springet Penn, whose heir he is, he finds that Sir William Keith surveyed for him, the said Springet, a manor of seventy-five thousand acres on the Susquehanna, which he called Springetsbury, and would be glad to know what became of that survey, and whether it was ever conveyed away. By searching the records, you may possibly obtain some light in this and other land affairs, that may be for his interest. The good inclinations you have shown towards that interest, in a letter that has been shown to me, encourage me to recommend this matter earnestly to your care and prudence; and the more privately you carry on your inquiries, for the present, the better it will be.

His uncle has lately proposed to him to buy of him Pennsbury manor house,[1] with one thousand acres of the land near the house, pretending that his principal reason for doing it was not the value of the land, but an inclination he had to possess the ancient home of the head of the family, and a little land round it just to support it. You know the situa-

[1] Pennsbury Manor, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, four miles above Bristol, on the Delaware River. — ED.

tion of that manor, and can judge whether it would be prudent to sell the part proposed from the rest, and will advise him concerning it. He has refused to treat about it at present, as well as to sign the power of attorney for the sale of the city lots; upon which his late guardian has brought in an account against him, and demands a debt of four hundred pounds, which he urges him to pay, for that, as he says, he very much wants the money, which does not seem to look well.

Not only the Land Office may be searched for warrants and surveys to the young gentleman's ancestors, but also the Record Office for deeds of gift from the first proprietor, and other subsequent grants or conveyances. I may tell you in confidence, that some lawyers are of opinion, that the government was not legally conveyed from the eldest branch to others of the family; but this is to be farther inquired into, and at present it is not to be talked of. I am with much esteem, Sir, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

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302. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Aug. 10, 1761.

DEAR POLLEY

. . . . . .

We are to set out this Week for Holland, where we may possibly spend a Month, but purpose to be at home again before the Coronation. I could not go without taking Leave of you by a Line at least, when I am so many Letters in your Debt.

In yours of May 19, which I have before me, you speak

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

of the Ease with which Salt Water may be made fresh by Distillation, supposing it to be, as I had said, that in Evaporation the Air would take up Water, but not the Salt that was mix'd with it. It is true, that distill'd Sea Water will not be salt, but there are other disagreable Qualities that rise with the Water in Distillation; which indeed several besides Dr. Hales have endeavoured by sundry Means to prevent; but as yet their Methods have not been brought much into Use.

I have his Pieces on the Subject which I will leave with your Mother for your Perusal, as you may possibly make her happy a Day or two with your Company upon our Return. I have a singular Opinion on this Subject, which I will venture to communicate to you, tho' I doubt you will rank it among my Whims. It is certain that the Skin has *imbibing* as well as *discharging* Pores; witness the Effects of a Blister Plaister, &c. I have read, that a Man, hired by a Physician to stand by way of Experiment in the open Air naked during a moist Night, weighed near 3 Pounds heavier in the Morning. I have often observ'd myself, that, however thirsty I may have been before going into the Water to swim, I am never long so in the Water. These imbibing Pores, however, are very fine, perhaps fine enough in filtring to separate Salt from Water; for, tho' I have soak'd by Swimming, when a Boy, several Hours in the Day for several Days successively in Salt water, I never found my Blood and Juices salted by that means, so as to make me thirsty or feel a salt Taste in my Mouth: And it is remarkable, that the Flesh of Sea Fish, tho' bred in Salt Water, is not Salt.

Hence I imagine, that, if People at Sea, distress'd by Thirst when their fresh Water is unfortunately spent, would

make Bathing-Tubs of their empty Water-Casks, and, filling them with Sea Water, sit in them an hour or two each Day, they might be greatly reliev'd. Perhaps keeping their Clothes constantly wet might have an almost equal Effect; and this without Danger of catching Cold. Men do not catch Cold by wet Clothes at Sea. Damp, but not wet Linen may possibly give Colds; but no one catches Cold by Bathing, and no Clothes can be wetter than Water itself. Why damp Clothes should then occasion Colds, is a curious Question, the Discussion of which I reserve for a future Letter, or some future Conversation.

Adieu, my dear little Philosopher. Present my respectful Compliments to the good Ladies, your Aunts, and to Miss Pitt; and believe me ever

Your affectionate Friend,
And humble Servant,
B. FRANKLIN.

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303. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Utrecht, in Holland, Sept. 14, 1761.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I wrote to you just before we left London, that we were about to make a short Tour to Holland. I wrote to you since from Antwerp in Flanders, and am now to acquaint you, that having seen almost all the principal Places and Things worthy Notice in those two Countries, we are now on our Return to London, where we hope to be next Saturday or Sunday, that we may not miss the Coronation. At Amsterdam I met with Mr. Crellius and his Daughter that

was formerly Mrs. Neigh; her Husband, Dr. Neigh, died in Carolina, and she is married again and lives very well in that City. They treated us with great Civility and Kindness; and will be so obliging as to forward this Letter to you, a Ship being bound to New York from Amsterdam. We are in good Health, and have had a great deal of Pleasure, and receiv'd a good deal of Information in this Tour that may be useful when we return to America. My Love to my dear Sally, and affectionate Regards to — all Pennsylvania. Billy presents his Duty. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving Husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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304. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

[September 20, 1761.]

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It is, as you observed in our late Conversation, a very general Opinion, that *all rivers run into the Sea*, or deposite their Waters there. 'Tis a kind of Audacity to call such general Opinions in question, and may subject one to censure. But we must hazard something in what we think the Cause of Truth: And if we propose our Objections modestly, we shall tho' mistaken, deserve a Censure less severe, than when we are both mistaken and insolent.

That some Rivers run into the Sea is beyond a doubt; such for Instance, are the Amazones and, I think, the Oronoko and the Missisipi. The Proof is, that their Waters are fresh quite to the Sea, and out to some Distance from the Land. Our Question is, whether the fresh Waters of those

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

Rivers whose Beds are filled with Salt Water to a considerable Distance up from the Sea (as the Thames, the Delaware, and the Rivers that communicate with Chesapeak Bay in Virginia) do ever arrive at the Sea. And as I suspect they do not, I am now to acquaint you with my Reasons; or, if they are not allow'd to be Reasons, my Conceptions at least of this Matter.

The common Supply of Rivers is from Springs, which draw their Origin from Rain that has soak'd into the Earth. The Union of a Number of springs forms a River. The Waters, as they run, expos'd to the Sun, Air, and Wind are continually evaporating. Hence in Travelling one may often see where a River runs, by a long blueish Mist over it, tho' we are at such a Distance as not to see the River itself. The Quantity of this Evaporation is greater or less, in proportion to the Surface exposed by the same Quantity of Water to those Causes of Evaporation. While the River runs in a narrow confined Channel in the upper hilly Country, only a small Surface is exposed; a greater, as the River widens. Now, if a River ends in a Lake, as some do, whereby its Waters are spread so wide as that the Evaporation is equal to the Sum of all its Springs, that Lake will never overflow; And if instead of ending in a Lake, it was drawn into greater Length as a River, so as to expose a Surface equal in the whole to that Lake, the Evaporation would be equal, and such River would end as a Canal; when the Ignorant might suppose, as they actually do in such cases, that the River loses itself by running under ground, whereas in truth it has run up into the Air.

Now many Rivers that are open to the Sea widen much before they arrive at it, not merely by the additional Waters

they receive, but by having their Course stopt by the opposing Flood-Tide; by being turned back twice in twenty-four Hours, and by finding broader Beds in the low flat Countries to dilate themselves in. Hence the Evaporation of the fresh Water is proportionably increas'd; so that in some Rivers it may equal the Springs of Supply. In such cases, the Salt Water comes up the River, and meets the fresh in that part where, if there were a Wall or Bank of Earth across from Side to Side, the River would form a Lake, fuller indeed at some times than at others, according to the Seasons, but whose Evaporation would, one time with another, be equal to its Supply.

When the Communication between the two kinds of Water is open, this supposed Wall of Separation may be conceived as a moveable one, which is not only pushed some Miles higher up the River by every Flood Tide from the Sea, and carried down again as far by every Tide of Ebb, but which has even this Space of Vibration removed nearer to the Sea in wet Seasons, when the Springs and Brooks in the upper Country are augmented by the falling Rains, so as to swell the River, and farther from the Sea in dry Seasons.

Within a few Miles above and below this moveable Line of Separation, the different Waters mix a little, partly by their Motion to and fro, and partly from the greater specific Gravity of the Salt Water, which inclines it to run under the Fresh, while the fresh Water, being lighter, runs over the Salt.

Cast your Eye on the Map of North America, and observe the Bay of Chesapeak, in Virginia, mentioned above; you will see, communicating with it by their Mouths, the great Rivers Susquehanah, Potowmack, Rappahanock, York, and

James, besides a Number of smaller Streams, each as big as the Thames. It has been propos'd by philosophical Writers, that to compute how much Water any River discharges into the Sea in a given time, we should measure its Depth and Swiftness at any Part above the Tide; as, for the Thames, at Kingston or Windsor. But can one imagine, that if all the Water of those vast Rivers went to the Sea, it would not first have pushed the Salt Water out of that narrow-mouthed Bay, and filled it with fresh? The Susquehanah alone would seem to be sufficient for this, if it were not for the Loss by Evaporation. And yet that Bay is salt quite up to Annapolis.

As to our other Subject, the different Degrees of Heat imbibed from the Sun's Rays by Cloths of different Colours, since I cannot find the Notes of my Experiment to send you, I must give it as well as I can from Memory.

But first let me mention an Experiment you may easily make yourself. Walk but a quarter of an Hour in your Garden when the Sun shines, with a part of your Dress white, and a Part black; then apply your Hand to them alternately, and you will find a very great Difference in their Warmth. The Black will be quite hot to the Touch, the White still cool.

Another. Try to fire Paper with a burning Glass. If it is White, you will not easily burn it; but if you bring the Focus to a black Spot, or upon Letters, written or printed, the Paper will immediately be on fire under the Letters.

Thus Fullers and Dyers find black Cloths, of equal Thickness with white ones, and hung out equally wet, dry in the Sun much sooner than the white, being more readily heated by the Sun's Rays. It is the same before a Fire; the Heat of which sooner penetrates black Stockings than white ones, and so is

apt sooner to burn a Man's Shins. Also Beer much sooner warms in a black Mug set before the Fire, than in a white one, or in a bright Silver Tankard.

My Experiment was this. I took a number of little square Pieces of Broad Cloth from a Taylor's Pattern-Card, of various Colours. There were Black, deep Blue, lighter Blue, Green, Purple, Red, Yellow, White, and other Colours, or Shades of Colours. I laid them all out upon the Snow in a bright Sunshiny Morning. In a few Hours (I cannot now be exact as to the Time), the Black, being warm'd most by the Sun, was sunk so low as to be below the Stroke of the Sun's Rays; the dark Blue almost as low, the lighter Blue not quite so much as the dark, the other Colours less as they were lighter; and the quite White remain'd on the Surface of the Snow, not having entred it at all.

What signifies Philosophy that does not apply to some Use? May we not learn from hence, that black Clothes are not so fit to wear in a hot Sunny Climate or Season, as white ones; because in such Cloaths the Body is more heated by the Sun when we walk abroad, and are at the same time heated by the Exercise, which double Heat is apt to bring on putrid dangerous Fevers? That Soldiers and Seamen, who must march and labour in the Sun, should in the East or West Indies have an Uniform of white? That Summer Hats, for Men or Women, should be white, as repelling that Heat which gives Headachs to many, and to some the fatal Stroke that the French call the *Coup de Soleil?* That the Ladies' Summer Hats, however, should be lined with Black, as not reverberating on their Faces those Rays which are reflected upwards from the Earth or Water? That the putting a white Cap of Paper or Linnen *within* the Crown of a black Hat, as some do,

will not keep out the Heat, tho' it would if placed *without?* That Fruit-Walls being black'd may receive so much Heat from the Sun in the Daytime, as to continue warm in some degree thro' the Night, and thereby preserve the Fruit from Frosts, or forward its Growth? — with sundry other particulars of less or greater Importance, that will occur from time to time to attentive Minds? I am

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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305. TO WILLIAM CULLEN, M.D.[1]

London, October 21, 1761.

DEAR SIR,

I hear, that since I had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you on the subject, you have wrote some of your sentiments of Fire, and communicated them to the Philosophical Society. If so, as it may be some time before their publication, I should think myself extremely obliged to you if I could be favoured with a copy, as there is no subject I am more impatient to be acquainted with. It should go no further than my own closet without your permission.

I thank you for the civilities you were so good as to shew my friend Mr. Shippen, whom I took the liberty of recommending to your notice the last year. Give me leave to recommend one friend more to your advice and countenance. The bearer, Mr. Morgan,[2] who purposes to reside some time in Edinburgh for the completion of his studies in Physic, is a

[1] From "An Account of the Life, Lectures, and Writings of William Cullen, M.D." By John Thomson, M.D., F.R.S. L. & E. Edinburgh, 1832. Vol. I, p. 140. — ED.

[2] See letter to Lord Kames, November, 1761. — ED.

young gentleman of Philadelphia, whom I have long known and greatly esteem; and as I interest myself in what relates to him, I cannot but wish him the advantage of your conversation and instructions. I wish it also for the sake of my country, where he is to reside, and where I am persuaded he will be not a little useful. I am, with the greatest esteem and respect, Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

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306. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Craven Street, Oct. 29, 1761.

My dear Polly's good Mama bids me write two or three Lines, by way of Apology for her so long omitting to write. She acknowledges the Receiving of two agreable Letters from her beloved Daughter, enclosing one for Sally Franklin, which was much approv'd (excepting one Word only) and sent as directed.

The Reasons of her not Writing are, that her Time all Day is fully taken up, during the DayLight, with the Care of her Family, and — laying abed in the Morning. And her Eyes are so bad, that she cannot see to Write in the Evening — for Playing at Cards. So she hopes that one, who is all Goodness, will certainly forgive her, when her Excuses are so substantial. As for the Secretary, he has not a word to say in his own Behalf, tho' full as great an Offender, but throws himself upon Mercy; pleading only that he is, with the greatest Esteem and sincerest Regard, his dear Polly's ever affectionate Friend, B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

307. TO CHARLES NORRIS AND THOMAS LEECH [1]

London, Novr 17. 1761.

GENTLEMEN,

I have this Day receiv'd from each of you a Notification, (dated Octr 1, 1761) that by a Reſolve of the Aſsembly you are ordered immediately to draw on me for the whole of the Parliamentary Grant to our Province for the year 1758.[2] As I had acquainted the Houſe from time to time thro' the Speaker with the Purchaſes of Stock I had made with that Money for the Account of the Province, which would have reap'd the whole Benefit of the expected Riſe on a Peace, I ſuppoſe the Houſe have been induc'd now to order the Drafts on the Apprehenſion that Peace might probably be concluded about the Time of their Arrival in England. Unfortunately the Negotiations have been broken off, & the Stocks have thereupon fallen conſiderably; ſo that if

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. William F. Havemeyer. A copy is in P. H. S. — ED.

[2] "The Governor has now under consideration the Bill for appointing certain persons to apply for and receive the distributive Shares & Proportions which are or shall be allotted to this Province out of the sum or Sums of Money granted or to be granted by Parliament to his Majestie's Colonies in America; but before he returns the same, or gives an answer thereto, he desires the House will inform him whether the Trustees of the Loan Office have drawn for the sum of Twenty-six Thousand nine hundred and two Pounds eight Shillings Sterling, the part of the Parliamentary Grant allotted to this Province for the year 1758, which, by an Act passed in the thirty-third Year of his late Majesty, was expressly directed to be drawn for by them, & applied in Abatement of the publick Taxes, & which he understands has already been received by Mr. Franklin." Minutes of the Provincial Council, Tuesday the 22nd Septr 1761. — ED.

our 30,000 £ which coſt us £26,994″7″6, be ſold at the preſent Rates, it will not Net more than £23,837″10″0, whence inſtead of a Gain of 5, or 6,000 £ that we ſhould probably have had by Delaying to draw till a Peace, we ſhall now incur a Loſs here of £3156″17″6. However, the Delay ſo far as it has gone, may by the intermediate extream Riſe in the Price of Bills at Philadelphia, far overballance this Loſs, ſo that on the whole with the Intereſt receiv'd here, the Province may be Gainers, which I ſincerely wiſh. But I ſend you this early Notice of the preſent State of Things, by different Conveyances, that if not too late, you may judge whether it will not be proper to avoid drawing for more than will probably be in my Hands; since if you should go far beyond what the Stocks when sold will produce, it will be impossible for me duly to honour all your Drafts. I am with the utmost Respect for yourselves and the Assembly, Gentlemen

Your most obedient
& most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S.

Stocks by this Day's Paper.

3 P^{t} C^{t} Consol (of which we have 5000 £)
at 72½ to 71 ¼
4 P^{t} C^{t} 1760 (of which we have 15,000 £)
at 86½ to 86
3 P^{t} C^{t} 1761 (of which we have 10,000 £)
at 73¾ to 73 ⅛

What they were when I bought may be seen by my former Letters to the Speaker. I shall state and send the whole Acc^{t} per next Pacquet.

308. TO LORD KAMES

London, November, 1761.

MY DEAR LORD,

It is long since I have afforded myself the pleasure of writing to you. As I grow in years, I find I grow more indolent, and more apt to procrastinate. I am indeed a bad correspondent; but what avails confession without amendment?

When I come so late with my thanks for your truly valuable *Introduction to the Art of Thinking*, can I have any right to inquire after your *Elements of Criticism?* I promise myself no small satisfaction in perusing that work also, when it shall appear. By the first, you sow thick in the young mind the seeds of good sense concerning moral conduct, which, as they grow and are transplanted into life, must greatly adorn the character and promote the happiness of the person. Permit me to say, that I think I never saw more solid, useful matter contained in so small a compass, and yet the method and expression so clear, that the brevity occasions no obscurity. In the other you will, by alluring youth to the practice of learning, strengthen their judgment, improve and enlarge their understanding, and increase their abilities of being useful.

To produce the number of valuable men necessary in a nation for its prosperity, there is much more hope from schemes of *early institution* than from *reformation.* And as the power of a single man to do national service, in particular situations of influence, is often immensely great, a writer can hardly conceive the good he may be doing, when engaged in works of this kind. I cannot, therefore, but wish you would

publish it as soon as your other important employments will permit you to give it the finishing hand.

With these sentiments you will not doubt my being serious in the intention of finishing my *Art of Virtue*. It is not a mere ideal work. I planned it first in 1732. I have from time to time made, and caused to be made, experiments of the method with success. The materials have been growing ever since. The form only is now to be given; in which I purpose employing my first leisure, after my return to my *other* country.

Your invitation to make another jaunt to Scotland, and offer to meet us half way *en famille*, was extremely obliging. Certainly I never spent my time anywhere more agreeably, nor have I been in any place, where the inhabitants and their conversation left such lastingly pleasing impressions on my mind, accompanied with the strongest inclination once more to visit that hospitable, friendly, and sensible people. The friendship your Lordship in particular honours me with would not, you may be assured, be among the least of my inducements. My son is in the same sentiments with me. But we doubt we cannot have that happiness, as we are to return to America early in the next spring.

I am ashamed that I have been so useless a member to your *Philosophical Society*, since they did me the honour of admitting me. But I think it will not be long before they hear from me. I should be very glad to see Dr. Cullen's [1] paper on *Fire*. When may we expect the publication? I have, as you have heard, been dealing in *Smoke*, and I think it not difficult to manage, when one is once acquainted thoroughly with the principles. But, as the causes are various,

[1] William Cullen (1710–1790), teacher of Joseph Black and William Hunter. — ED.

so must the remedies be; and one cannot prescribe to a patient at such a distance, without first having a clear state of its case. If you should ever take the trouble of sending me a description of the circumstances of your smoky chimneys, perhaps I might offer something useful towards their cure. But doubtless you have doctors equally skilful nearer home.

I sent one of your *Principles of Equity* as a present to a particular friend of mine, one of the judges of the Supreme Court in Pennsylvania, where, as there is no court of chancery, equity is often mixed with the common law in their judgments. I since received two letters from him. In the first, when he had read but part of the work, he seemed to think something wanting in it. In the next, he calls his first sentiments in question. I think I will send you the letters, though of no great importance, lest, since I have mentioned them, you should think his remarks might be of more consequence. You can return them when any friend is coming this way.

May I take the freedom of recommending the bearer, Mr. Morgan,[1] to your Lordship's protection. He purposes residing some time in Edinburgh, to improve himself in the study of physic, and I think will one day make a good figure in the profession, and be of some credit to the school he studies in, if great industry and application, joined with natural genius and sagacity, afford any foundation for the presage. He is the son of a friend and near neighbour of mine in Philadelphia,[2] so that I have known him from a child, and am confident the same excellent dispositions,

[1] John Morgan, M.D. (1735–1789), an eminent physician of Philadelphia. — ED.

[2] Evan Morgan, merchant. — ED.

good morals, and prudent behaviour, that have procured him the esteem and affection of all that knew him in his own country, will render him not unworthy the regard, advice, and countenance your Lordship may be so good as to afford him.

My son (with whom I have lately made the tour of Holland and Flanders) joins with me in best wishes for you and Lady Kames, and your amiable children. We hope, however far we may be removed from you, to hear frequently of your welfare, and of the fortunes of your family; being with the sincerest esteem and regard, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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309. TO SIR ALEXANDER DICK (L. L.)

London, Jan. 21, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

It gives me Pleasure to learn, by yours of Nov. 12. that my young Friend Mr Morgan has rendered himself agreable to you, and that your Health and Eyes are much better.

I sent some time since to Mr Dalrymple one of my Machines for your Chimney, who readily paid the Smith's Bill for the same. — But now, on discoursing with some Gentlemen from Edinburgh, I am in doubt whether it is what you intended and expected. If not, pray let me know, that I may endeavour to procure for you the Thing that you desire.

However let me tell you, that after more than 20 Years Experience of my own Contrivances and those of others, for the Warming of Rooms, and much Thought on the Subject, I am of Opinion, that this, all Circumstances considered,

is by far the best for common Use. You will judge of it when I have explain'd the Manner of Fixing it up, and its Operation.

It is a thin Iron Plate sliding in a grooved Frame of Iron. The Opening of your Chimney I suppose is wider than this Plate with its Frame is long, and deeper than it is wide: In which Case your Mason is to contract the Opening, by raising within it two Jambs of Brickwork about 3 Feet high, and at such a Distance from each other, that the Frame & Plate being laid on them may rest firmly, and be fix'd by additional Brickwork above upon the Jambs, and across from Jamb to Jamb over the Frame, so as to close the Opening above the Frame. This new Brickwork may be fac'd with Dutch Tiles, Stone or Marble at your Pleasure. This Work is to be plac'd so far back in the Chimney, that when the Plate is close thrust in, the Chimney is quite stopt up, so as to prevent all passage of Air up or down. Then when you make a Fire, the Plate is to be drawn out so far only as to admit a Passage for all the Smoke; which will be one, two, or three Inches, at different Times, according to the Coldness of the Weather, and the Strength of the Draft in your Chimney. If at any time, you would have the Fire speedily blown up, the Plate is to be drawn out as far as the Hinge and let down to hang perpendicular, which enlarging the Passage above the Fire, and contracting it before, produces the Effect by occasioning a stronger Current of Air where it is required for the purpose.

The Principles of this Construction are these. Chimney Funnels are made much larger than is necessary for Conveying the Smoke. In a large Funnel a great quantity of Air is continually ascending out of the Room, which must

be supply'd thro' the Crevices of Doors, Windows, Floors, Wainscots, &c. This occasions a continual Current of cold Air from the extream Parts of the Room to the Chimney, which presses the Air warm'd by the direct rays of the Fire into the Chimney, and carries it off, thereby preventing its diffusing itself to warm the Room. — By contracting the Funnel with this Plate, the Draft of Air up the Chimney is greatly lessen'd, and the Introduction of cold Air thro' the Crevices to supply its Place is proportionally lessen'd. Hence the Room is more uniformly warm'd & with less Fire; and the Current of cold Air towards the Chimney being lessen'd it becomes much more comfortable Sitting before the Fire. —

That the Draft of cold Air into the Room is lessen'd by this Plate may be demonstrated by several easy Experiments. When you have a lively Fire burning, and the Plate as far in as it will bear to be without stopping the Smoak, set the Door open about ½ an Inch, & hold your Hand against the Crevice; you will then feel the Cool Air coming in, but slowly & weakly compar'd with what you will feel, if, while your Hand continues so plac'd another Person suddenly draws out the Plate. The stronger pressure of the outward Air into the Room, will when the Plate is drawn out, push the Door more strongly; and being shut, the Rushing of the Air thro' Crevices make a louder Noise. —

Since I first us'd this Contrivance in the Chimneys of my Lodging here, many Hundreds have been set up in Imitation of it, in and about this City, and they have afforded general Satisfaction. Simplicity, Cheapness, and Easy Execution, have all contributed to recommend it. — Then it is no Obstruction to the Sweeping of the Chimney, is at-

tended with no ill Smells, & in Summer serves the purpose of a Chimney Board, by closing the Chimney entirely. —

It has indeed been mistaken by some as intended for the Cure of Smoaky Chimneys. But that is not to be expected from it, except in two Cases, viz. where the Chimney smokes because the Opening is too large, or where the Room is so tight & the Funnel so big, that all the Crevices together do not admit Air enough to supply the Draft. In these Cases it is of Service. But Chimneys often smoke from other Causes, & must have other Remedies.

Possibly where a Chimney smokes from Wind sometimes blowing down, it may also be of some Service, the Push of the heated Air upwards being stronger in its narrow Passage. But in this Case I have had no Opportunity of seeing it try'd.

If you are desirous of obtaining still more Heat in your Room, from the same Fire, I would recommend lining your Jambs with coving Plates of polish'd Brass. They throw a vast deal of Heat into the Room by Reflection. I have done my Parlour Chimney in that Manner with very good Effect. The Plates are thin, & the Expence of the two, but about twenty-five Shillings.

Please to acquaint your Friend Dr Hope,[1] that I am about returning to America this Summer, and will send him free of Charge for Postage in America any Letters containing Leaves of Plants or small Parcels of Seeds that shall be committed to my Care by any of his or your medical Friends there. —

My Son joins in best Wishes for you & your Children. Our Compliments to the eldest, who proves an excellent

[1] John Hope (1725–1786), Professor of Botany at Edinburgh. — ED.

Secretary for you. Be so good as to present our cordial Regards to Lord Kaims when you see him. I shall write to him shortly, being much in his Debt. — With the greatest Esteem, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient
humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

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310. TO DAVID HUME [1]

London, January 24, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with my Lord Marischal's request, communicated to me by you, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I now send you what at present appears to me to be the shortest and simplest method of securing buildings, &c., from the mischiefs of lightning. Prepare a steel rod five or six feet long, half an inch thick at its biggest end, and tapering to a sharp point; which point should be gilt to prevent its rusting. Let the big end of the rod have a strong eye or ring of half an inch diameter: Fix this rod upright to the chimney or highest part of the house, by means of staples, so as it may be kept steady. Let the pointed end be upwards, and rise three or four feet above the chimney or building that the rod is fixed to. Drive into the ground

[1] First printed in the third volume of a work entitled, "Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary; read before the Philosophical Society in Edinburgh, and published by them." Mr. Hume was a member of that Society. The volume containing this letter was published in the year 1771. The original letter is in the Library of the Royal Philosophical Society, Edinburgh. — ED.

an iron rod of about an inch diameter, and ten or twelve feet long, that has also an eye or ring in its upper end. It is best that the rod should be at some distance from the foundation of the building, not nearer than ten feet, if your ground will allow so much. Then take as much length of iron rod of about half an inch diameter, as will reach from the eye in the rod above, to that in the rod below; and fasten it securely to those rods, by passing its ends through the rings, and bending those ends till they likewise form rings.

This length of rod may either be in one or several pieces. If in several, let the ends of the pieces be also well hooked to each other. Then close and cover every joint with lead, which is easily done, by making a small bag of strong paper round the joint, tying it close below, and then pouring in the melted lead; it being of use in these junctures, that there should be a considerable quantity of metalline contact between piece and piece. For, if they were only hooked together and so touched each other but in points, the lightning, in passing through them, might melt and break them where they join. The lead will also prevent the weakening of the joints by rust. To prevent the shaking of this rod by the wind, you may secure it by a few staples to the building, till it comes down within ten feet of the ground, and thence carry it off to your ground rod; near to which should be planted a post, to support the iron conductor above the heads of people walking under it.

If the building be large and long, as an hundred feet or upwards, it may not be amiss to erect a pointed rod at each end, and form a communication by an iron rod between them. If there be a well near the house, so that you can by such a rod form a communication from your top rod to the

water, it is rather better to do so than to use the ground rod above mentioned. It may also be proper to paint the iron, to render it more durable by preserving it from rust.

A building thus guarded, will not be damaged by lightning, nor any person or thing therein killed, hurt, or set on fire. For, either the explosion will be prevented by the operation of the point; or, if not prevented, then the whole quantity of lightning exploded near the house, whether passing from the cloud to the earth or from the earth to the cloud, will be conveyed in the rods. And, though the iron be crooked round the corner of the building, or make ever so many turns between the upper and lower rod, the lightning will follow it, and be guided by it, without affecting the building. I omit the philosophical reasons and experiments on which this practice is founded; for they are many, and would make a book. Besides they are already known to most of the learned throughout Europe. In the American British colonies, many houses have been, since the year 1752, guarded by these principles. Three facts have only come to my knowledge of the effects of lightning on such houses.[1]

If I have not been explicit enough in my directions, I shall, on the least intimation, endeavour to supply the defect.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] For these facts, relating to the houses of Mr. West in Philadelphia, and of Mr. Raven and Mr. Maine in South Carolina, see "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 394, and pp. 416–425. — ED.

311. TO CHARLES NORRIS AND THOMAS LEECH [1] (P. C.)

London, Feb. 13, 1762.

GENTLEMEN

Since mine of Jany 14 most of the Bills therein mentioned as not having then appeared have been presented — and I have accepted three more of them, viz. No. 36, 50. & 121, which make the whole sum accepted by me £20.500, all of which is now paid except the three above mentioned Bills which will be paid in course. The others are noted & when protested will be paid by Messrs Sargent & Aufrere.

A more unlucky time could not have been pitched upon to draw Money out of the Stocks here, for it was in the Midst of the Damp thrown upon them by the Breaking off the Negotiations for Peace, the Resignation of Mr. Pitt, & the entering into a new War with Spain. All imaginable Care and Pains was taken to sell our Stocks to the best Advantage, but it could only be done by Degrees & with Difficulty, there being some times no Buyers to be found. The whole Produce of the 15.000£ 4 per cents was no more than £12.436.10.0. and that of the 15.000£ 3 per Cents only 9.500. 0.0

in all £21.936.10.0.

as you will see by the Broker's Account of Sales inclos'd. However as the Bills you have drawn will all be honour'd and paid, no Disappointment will arise to the Trade and Merchants of the Province, though perhaps notwithstanding the good Price of Exchange receiv'd for the Bills, beyond

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. D. McN. Stauffer. A draft is in P. H. S. — ED.

what they would have sold for when the Money was first invested in the Funds, there may be still some Loss to the Publick. I am Gentlemen, with great Respect

Your most obedient hum. Servt.

B. FRANKLIN.

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312. TO EBENEZER KINNERSLEY[1]

London, Feb. 20, 1762.

SIR,

I received your ingenious letter of the 12th of *March* last, and thank you cordially for the account you give me of the new experiments you have lately made in Electricity. It is a subject that still affords me pleasure, though of late I have not much attended to it.

Your second experiment, in which you attempted, without success, to communicate positive electricity by vapour ascending from electrised water, reminds me of one I formerly made, to try if negative electricity might be produced by evaporation only. I placed a large heated brass plate, containing four or five square feet, on an electric stand; a rod of metal, about four feet long, with a bullet at its end, extended from the plate horizontally. A light lock of cotton, suspended by a fine thread from the cieling, hung opposite to, and within an inch of the bullet. I then sprinkled the heated plate with water, which arose fast from it in vapour. If vapour should be disposed to carry off the electrical, as it does the common fire from bodies, I expected the plate would, by losing some of its natural quantity, become nega-

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 397. — ED.

tively electrised. But I could not perceive, by any motion in the cotton, that it was at all affected; nor by any separation of small cork balls suspended from the plate, could it be observed that the plate was in any manner electrified.

Mr. *Canton* here has also found, that two tea-cups, set on electric stands, and filled, one with boiling, the other with cold water, and equally electrified, continued equally so, notwithstanding the plentiful evaporation from the hot water. Your experiment and his agreeing, show another remarkable difference between electric and common fire. For the latter quits most readily the body that contains it, where water, or any other fluid, is evaporating from the surface of that body, and escapes with the vapour. Hence the method long in use in the east, of cooling liquors, by wrapping the bottles round with a wet cloth, and exposing them to the wind. Dr. *Cullen*, of *Edinburgh*, has given some experiments of cooling by evaporation;[1] and I was present at one made by Dr. *Hadley*, then professor of chemistry at *Cambridge*, when, by repeatedly wetting the ball of a thermometer with spirit, and quickening the evaporation by the blast of a bellows, the mercury fell from 65, the state of warmth in the common air, to 7, which is 22 degrees below freezing; and, accordingly, from some water mixed with the spirit, or from the breath of the assistants, or both, ice gathered in small *spicula* round the ball, to the thickness of near a quarter of an inch. To such a degree did the mercury lose the fire it before contained, which, as I imagine, took the opportunity of escaping, in company with the evaporating particles of the spirit, by adhering to those particles.

[1] See "Essay on the Cold produced by Evaporating Fluids" (Edin. Philos. and Lit. Essays, Vol. II, 1755). — ED.

Your experiment of the *Florence* flask, and boiling water, is very curious. I have repeated it, and found it to succeed as you describe it, in two flasks out of three. The third would not charge when filled with either hot or cold water. I repeated it, because I remembered I had once attempted to make an electric bottle of a *Florence* flask, filled with cold water, but could not charge it at all; which I then imputed to some imperceptible cracks in the small, extremely thin bubbles, of which that glass is full, and I concluded none of that kind would do. But you have shewn me my mistake. Mr. *Wilson* had formerly acquainted us, that red-hot glass would conduct electricity; but that so small a degree of heat as that communicated by boiling water, would so open the pores of extremely thin glass, as to suffer the electric fluid freely to pass, was not before known. Some experiments similar to yours, have, however, been made here, before the receipt of your letter, of which I shall now give you an account.

I formerly had an opinion that a *Leyden* bottle, charg'd and then seal'd hermetically, might retain its electricity for ever; but having afterwards some suspicion that possibly that subtil fluid might, by slow imperceptible degrees, soak through the glass, and in time escape, I requested some of my friends, who had conveniences for doing it, to make trial, whether, after some months, the charge of a bottle so sealed would be sensibly diminished. Being at *Birmingham*, in *September*, 1760, Mr. *Bolton* of that place opened a bottle that had been charged, and its long tube neck hermetically sealed in the *January* preceding. On breaking off the end of the neck, and introducing a wire into it, we found it possessed of a considerable quantity of electricity, which

was discharged by a snap and spark. This bottle had lain near seven months on a shelf, in a closet, in contact with bodies that would undoubtedly have carried off all its electricity, if it could have come readily through the glass. Yet as the quantity manifested by the discharge was not apparently so great as might have been expected from a bottle of that size well charged, some doubt remained whether part had escaped while the neck was sealing, or had since, by degrees, soaked through the glass. But an experiment of Mr. *Canton's*, in which such a bottle was kept under water a week, without having its electricity in the least impaired, seems to show, that when the glass is cold, though extremely thin, the electric fluid is well retained by it. As that ingenious and accurate experimenter made a discovery, like yours, of the effect of heat in rendering thin glass permeable by that fluid, it is but doing him justice to give you his account of it, in his own words, extracted from his letter to me, in which he communicated it, dated *Oct.* 31, 1760, *viz.*

"Having procured some thin glass balls, of about an inch and a half in diameter, with stems, or tubes, of eight or nine inches in length, I electrified them, some positively on the inside, and others negatively, after the manner of charging the *Leyden* bottle, and sealed them hermetically. Soon after I applied the naked balls to my electrometer, and could not discover the least sign of their being electrical; but holding them before the fire, at the distance of six or eight inches, they became strongly electrical in a very short time, and more so when they were cooling. These balls will, every time they are heated, give the electrical fluid to, or take it from other bodies, according to the *plus* or *minus* state of it within them. Heating them frequently, I find will sensibly di-

minish their power; but keeping one of them under water a week did not appear in the least degree to impair it. That which I kept under water, was charged on the 22d of *September* last, was several times heated before it was kept in water, and has been heated frequently since, and yet it still retains its virtue to a very considerable degree. The breaking two of my balls accidentally, gave me an opportunity of measuring their thickness, which I found to be between seven and eight parts in a thousand of an inch.

"A down feather, in a thin glass ball, hermetically sealed, will not be affected by the application of an excited tube, or the wire of a charged vial, unless the ball be considerably heated; and if a glass pane be heated till it begins to grow soft, and in that state be held between the wire of a charged vial, and the discharging wire, the course of the electrical fluid will not be through the glass, but on the surface, round by the edge of it."

By this last experiment of Mr. *Canton's*, it appears, that though by a moderate heat, thin glass becomes, in some degree, a conductor of electricity, yet, when of the thickness of a common pane, it is not, though in a state near melting, so good a conductor as to pass the shock of a discharged bottle. There are other conductors which suffer the electric fluid to pass through them gradually, and yet will not conduct a shock. For instance, a quire of paper will conduct through its whole length, so as to electrify a person, who, standing on wax, presents the paper to an electrified prime conductor; but it will not conduct a shock even through its thickness only; hence the shock either fails, or passes by rending a hole in the paper. Thus a seive will pass water gradually, but a stream from a fire-engine would either be stopped by it, or tear a hole through it.

too, been inclined, with you, to resolve all into attraction; but besides that attraction seems in itself as unintelligible as repulsion, there are some appearances of repulsion that I cannot so easily explain by attraction; this for one instance. When the pair of cork balls are suspended by flaxen threads, from the end of the prime conductor, if you bring a rubbed glass tube near the conductor, but without touching it, you see the balls separate, as being electrified positively; and yet you have communicated no electricity to the conductor, for, if you had, it would have remained there, after withdrawing the tube; but the closing of the balls immediately thereupon, shews that the conductor has no more left in it than its natural quantity. Then again approaching the conductor with the rubbed tube, if, while the balls are separated, you touch with a finger that end of the conductor to which they hang, they will come together again, as being, with that part of the conductor, brought to the same state with your finger, *i.e.* the natural state. But the other end of the conductor, near which the tube is held, is not in that state, but in the negative state, as appears on removing the tube; for then part of the natural quantity left at the end near the balls, leaving that end to supply what is wanting at the other, the whole conductor is found to be equally in the negative state. Does not this indicate, that the electricity of the rubbed tube had repelled the electric fluid, which was diffused in the conductor while in its natural state, and forced it to quit the end to which the tube was brought near, accumulating itself on the end to which the balls were suspended? I own I find it difficult to account for its quitting that end, on the approach of the rubbed tube, but on the supposition of repulsion; for, while the conductor was in the same state with the air, that is, the natural state, it does

not seem to me easy to suppose, that an attraction should suddenly take place between the air and the natural quantity of the electric fluid in the conductor, so as to draw it to, and accumulate it on the end opposite to that approached by the tube; since bodies, possessing only their natural quantity of that fluid, are not usually seen to attract each other, or to affect mutually the quantities of electricity each contains.

There are likewise appearances of repulsion in other parts of nature. Not to mention the violent force with which the particles of water, heated to a certain degree, separate from each other, or those of gunpowder, when touch'd with the smallest spark of fire, there is the seeming repulsion between the same poles of the magnet, a body containing a subtle moveable fluid, in many respects analogous to the electric fluid. If two magnets are so suspended by strings, as that their poles of the same denomination are opposite to each other, they will separate, and continue so; or if you lay a magnetic steel bar on a smooth table, and approach it with another parallel to it, the poles of both in the same position, the first will recede from the second, so as to avoid the contact, and may thus be push'd (or at least appear to be push'd) off the table. Can this be ascribed to the attraction of any surrounding body or matter drawing them asunder, or drawing the one away from the other? If not, and repulsion exists in nature, and in magnetism, why may it not exist in electricity? We should not, indeed, multiply causes in philosophy without necessity; and the greater simplicity of your hypothesis would recommend it to me, if I could see that all appearances might be solved by it. But I find, or think I find, the two causes more convenient than one of them alone. Thus I would solve the circular motion of your horizontal

stick, supported on a pivot, with two pins at their ends, pointing contrary ways, and moving in the same direction when electrified, whether positively or negatively: When positively, the air opposite to the points, being electrised positively, repels the points; when negatively, the air opposite the points being also, by their means, electrised negatively, attraction takes place between the electricity in the air behind the heads of the pins, and the negative pins, and so they are, in this case, drawn in the same direction that in the other they were driven. You see I am willing to meet you half way, a complaisance I have not met with in our brother *Nollet*, or any other hypothesis-maker, and therefore may value myself a little upon it, especially as they say I have some ability in defending even the wrong side of a question, when I think fit to take it in hand.

What you give as an established law of the electric fluid, "That quantities of different densities mutually attract each other, in order to restore the equilibrium," is, I think, not well founded, or else not well express'd. Two large cork balls, suspended by silk strings, and both well and equally electrified, separate to a great distance. By bringing into contact with one of them another ball of the same size, suspended likewise by silk, you will take from it half its electricity. It will then, indeed, hang at a less distance from the other, but the full and the half quantities will not appear to attract each other, that is, the balls will not come together. Indeed, I do not know any proof we have, that one quantity of electric fluid is attracted by another quantity of that fluid, whatever difference there may be in their densities. And, supposing in nature a mutual attraction between two parcels of any kind of matter, it would be strange if this attraction should subsist strongly while those parcels were unequal, and cease when

more matter of the same kind was added to the smallest parcel, so as to make it equal to the biggest. By all the laws of attraction in matter, that we are acquainted with, the attraction is stronger in proportion to the increase of the masses, and never in proportion to the difference of the masses. I should rather think the law would be, "That the electric fluid is attracted strongly by all other matter that we know of, while the parts of that fluid mutually repel each other." Hence its being equally diffused (except in particular circumstances) throughout all other matter. But this you jokingly call "electrical orthodoxy." It is so with some at present, but not with all; and, perhaps, it may not always be orthodoxy with anybody. Opinions are continually varying, where we cannot have mathematical evidence of the nature of things; and they must vary. Nor is that variation without its use, since it occasions a more thorough discussion, whereby error is often dissipated, true knowledge is encreased, and its principles become better understood and more firmly established.

Air should have, as you observe, "its share of the common stock of electricity, as well as glass, and, perhaps, all other electrics *per se*." But I suppose, that, like them, it does not easily part with what it has, or receive more, unless when mix'd with some non-electric, as moisture for instance, of which there is some in our driest air. This, however, is only a supposition; and your experiment of restoring electricity to a negatively electrised person, by extending his arm upwards into the air, with a needle between his fingers, on the point of which light may be seen in the night, is, indeed, a curious one. In this town the air is generally moister than ith us, and here I have seen Mr. *Canton* electrify the air in

one room positively, and in another, which communicated by a door, he has electrised the air negatively. The difference was easily discovered by his cork balls, as he passed out of one room into another. *Père Beccaria*, too, has a pretty experiment, which shews that air may be electrised. Suspending a pair of small light balls, by flaxen threads, to the end of his prime conductor, he turns his globe some time, electrising positively, the balls diverging and continuing separate all the time. Then he presents the point of a needle to his conductor, which gradually drawing off the electric fluid, the balls approach each other, and touch, before all is drawn from the conductor; opening again as more is drawn off, and separating nearly as wide as at first, when the conductor is reduced to the natural state. By this it appears, that when the balls came together, the air surrounding the balls was just as much electrised as the conductor at that time; and more than the conductor, when that was reduced to its natural state. For the balls, though in the natural state, will diverge, when the air that surrounds them is electrised *plus* or *minus*, as well as when that is in its natural state and they are electrised *plus* or *minus* themselves. I foresee that you will apply this experiment to the support of your hypothesis, and I think you may make a good deal of it.

It was a curious enquiry of yours, Whether the electricity of the air, in clear dry weather, be of the same density at the height of two or three hundred yards, as near the surface of the earth; and I am glad you made the experiment. Upon reflection, it should seem probable, that whether the general state of the atmosphere at any time be positive or negative, that part of it which is next the earth will be nearer the natural state, by having given to the earth in one case, or having

received from it in the other. In electrising the air of a room, that which is nearest the walls, or floor, is least altered. There is only one small ambiguity in the experiment, which may be cleared by more trials; it arises from the supposition that bodies may be electrised positively by the friction of air blowing strongly on them, as it does on the kite and its string. If at some times the electricity appears to be negative, as that friction is the same, the effect must be from a negative state of the upper air.

I am much pleased with your electrical thermometer, and the experiments you have made with it. I formerly satisfied myself, by an experiment with my phial and syphon, that the elasticity of the air was not increased by the mere existence of an electric atmosphere within the phial; but I did not know, till you now inform me, that heat may be given to it by an electric explosion. The continuance of its rarefaction, for some time after the discharge of your glass jar and of your case of bottles, seem to make this clear. The other experiments on wet paper, wet thread, green grass, and green wood, are not so satisfactory; as possibly the reducing part of the moisture to vapour, by the electric fluid passing through it, might occasion some expansion which would be gradually reduced by the condensation of such vapour. The fine silver thread, the very small brass wire, and the strip of gilt paper, are also subject to a similar objection, as even metals, in such circumstances, are often partly reduced to smoke, particularly the gilding on paper.

But your subsequent beautiful experiment on the wire, which you made hot by the electric explosion, and in that state fired gunpowder with it, puts it out of all question, that heat is produced by our artificial electricity, and that the melting

of metals in that way, is not by what I formerly called a cold fusion. A late instance here, of the melting a bell-wire, in a house struck by lightning, and parts of the wire burning holes in the floor on which they fell, has proved the same with regard to the electricity of nature. I was too easily led into that error by accounts given, even in philosophical books, and from remote ages downwards, of melting money in purses, swords in scabbards, &c., without burning the inflammable matters that were so near those melted metals. But men are, in general, such careless observers, that a philosopher cannot be too much on his guard in crediting their relations of things extraordinary, and should never build an hypothesis on any thing but clear facts and experiments, or it will be in danger of soon falling, as this does, like a house of cards.

How many ways there are of kindling fire, or producing heat in bodies! By the sun's rays, by collision, by friction, by hammering, by putrefaction, by fermentation, by mixtures of fluids, by mixtures of solids with fluids, and by electricity. And yet the fire when produced, though in different bodies it may differ in circumstances, as in colour, vehemence, &c., yet in the same bodies is generally the same. Does not this seem to indicate that the fire existed in the body, though in a quiescent state, before it was by any of these means excited, disengaged, and brought forth to action and to view? May it not constitute part, and even a principal part, of the solid substance of bodies? If this should be the case, kindling fire in a body would be nothing more than developing this inflammable principle, and setting it at liberty to act in separating the parts of that body, which then exhibits the appearances of scorching, melting, burning, &c. When a man lights an hundred candles from the flame of one, without diminishing that

flame, can it be properly said to have *communicated* all that fire? When a single spark from a flint, applied to a magazine of gunpowder, is immediately attended with this consequence, that the whole is in flame, exploding with immense violence, could all this fire exist first in the spark? We cannot conceive it. And thus we seem led to this supposition, that there is fire enough in all bodies to singe, melt, or burn them, whenever it is, by any means, set at liberty, so that it may exert itself upon them, or be disengaged from them. This liberty seems to be afforded it by the passage of electricity through them, which we know can and does, of itself, separate the parts even of water; and perhaps the immediate appearances of fire are only the effects of such separations? If so, there would be no need of supposing that the electric fluid *heats itself* by the swiftness of its motion, or heats bodies by the resistance it meets with in passing through them. They would only be heated in proportion as such separation could be more easily made. Thus a melting heat cannot be given to a large wire in the flame of a candle, though it may to a small one; and this not because the large wire resists *less* that action of the flame which tends to separate its parts, but because it resists it *more* than the smaller wire; or because the force being divided among more parts, acts weaker on each.

This reminds me, however, of a little experiment I have frequently made, that shews, at one operation, the different effects of the same quantity of electric fluid passing through different quantities of metal. A strip of tinfoil, three inches long, a quarter of an inch wide at one end, and tapering all the way to a sharp point at the other, fixed between two pieces of glass, and having the electricity of a large glass jar sent through it, will not be discomposed in the broadest part;

towards the middle will appear melted in spots; where narrower, it will be quite melted; and about half an inch of it next the point will be reduced to smoke.

You were not mistaken in supposing that your account of the effect of the pointed rod, in securing Mr. *West's* house from damage by a stroke of lightning, would give me great pleasure. I thank you for it most heartily, and for the pains you have taken in giving me so complete a description of its situation, form, and substance, with the draft of the melted point. There is one circumstance, *viz.* that the lightning was seen to diffuse itself from the foot of the rod over the wet pavement, which seems, I think, to indicate, that the earth under the pavement was very dry, and that the rod should have been sunk deeper, till it came to earth moister and therefore apter to receive and dissipate the electric fluid. And although, in this instance, a conductor formed of nail-rods, not much above a quarter of an inch thick, served well to convey the lightning, yet some accounts I have seen from *Carolina*, give reason to think, that larger may be sometimes necessary, at least for the security of the conductor itself, which, when too small, may be destroyed in executing its office, though it does, at the same time, preserve the house. Indeed, in the construction of an instrument so new, and of which we could have so little experience, it is rather lucky that we should at first be so near the truth as we seem to be, and commit so few errors.

There is another reason for sinking deeper the lower end of the rod, and also for turning it outwards under ground to some distance from the foundation; it is this, that water dripping from the eaves falls near the foundation, and sometimes soaks down there in greater quantities, so as to come

near the end of the rod though the ground about it be drier. In such case, this water may be exploded, that is, blown into vapour, whereby a force is generated that may damage the foundation. Water reduced to vapour, is said to occupy 14,000 times its former space. I have sent a charge through a small glass tube, that has borne it well while empty, but when filled first with water, was shattered to pieces and driven all about the room: — Finding no part of the water on the table, I suspected it to have been reduced to vapour; and was confirmed in that suspicion afterwards, when I had filled a like piece of tube with ink, and laid it on a sheet of clean paper, whereon, after the explosion, I could find neither any moisture nor any sully from the ink. This experiment of the explosion of water, which I believe was first made by that most ingenious electrician Father *Beccaria*, may account for what we sometimes see in a tree struck by lightning, when part of it is reduced to fine splinters like a broom; the sap-vessels being so many tubes containing a watry fluid, which when reduced to vapour, rends every tube lengthways. And perhaps it is this rarefaction of the fluids in animal bodies killed by lightning or electricity, that by separating its fibres, renders the flesh so tender, and apt so much sooner to putrify. I think too, that much of the damage done by lightning to stone and brick walls, may sometimes be owing to the explosion of water, found during showers, running or lodging in the joints or small cavities or cracks that happen to be in the walls.

Here are some electricians that recommend knobs instead of points on the upper end of the rods, from a supposition that the points invite the stroke. It is true that points draw electricity at greater distances in the gradual, silent way; but knobs will draw at the greatest distance a stroke. There

is an experiment that will settle this. Take a crooked wire of the thickness of a quill, and of such a length as that one end of it being applied to the lower part of a charged bottle, the upper may be brought near the ball on the top of the wire that is in the bottle. Let one end of this wire be furnished with a knob, and the other be gradually tapered to a fine point. When the point is presented to discharge the bottle it must be brought much nearer before it will receive the stroke, than the knob requires to be. Points besides tend to repel the fragments of an electrised cloud, knobs draw them nearer. An experiment which, I believe I have shewn you, of cotton fleece hanging from an electrised body, shows this clearly, when a point or a knob is presented under it.

You seem to think highly of the importance of this discovery, as do many others on our side of the water. Here it is very little regarded; so little, that though it is now seven or eight years since it was made publick, I have not heard of a single house as yet attempted to be secured by it. It is true the mischiefs done by lightning are not so frequent here as with us, and those who calculate chances may perhaps find that not one death (or the destruction of one house) in a hundred thousand happens from that cause, and that therefore it is scarce worth while to be at any expence to guard against it. But in all countries there are particular situations of buildings more exposed than others to such accidents, and there are minds so strongly impressed with the apprehension of them, as to be very unhappy every time a little thunder is within their hearing; it may therefore be well to render this little piece of new knowledge as general and as well understood as possible, since to make us *safe* is not all its advantage, it is some to make us *easy*.

And as the stroke it secures us from might have chanced perhaps but once in our lives, while it may relieve us a hundred times from those painful apprehensions, the latter may possibly on the whole contribute more to the happiness of mankind than the former.

Your kind wishes and congratulations are very obliging. I return them cordially; being with great regard and esteem, my dear Sir, your affectionate friend and most obedient humble servant, B. F[RANKLIN.]

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313. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Monday morn^g^, March 8, 1762.

DEAR POLLY,

Your good Mama has just been saying to me, that she wonders what can possibly be the Reason she has not had a Line from you for so long a time. I have made no Complaint of that kind, being conscious, that, by not writing myself, I have forfeited all Claim to such Favour, tho' no Letters give me more Pleasure, and I often wish to hear from you; but Indolence grows upon me with Years, and writing grows more and more irksome to me.

Have you finish'd your Course of Philosophy? No more Doubts to be resolv'd? No more Questions to ask? If so, you may now be at full Leisure to improve yourself in Cards. Adieu, my dear Child, and believe me ever your affectionate Friend, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Respects to Mrs. Tickel,[2] &c. Mama bids me tell you she is lately much afflicted and half a Cripple with the

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

[2] Aunt of Mary Stevenson. — ED.

Rheumatism. I send you two or three French *Gazettes de Médecine*, which I have just receiv'd from Paris, wherein is a Translation of the Extract of a Letter you copied out for me. You will return them with my French Letters on Electricity, when you have perus'd them.

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314. TO MISS [MARY] STEVENSON, AT MRS. TICKELL'S, WANSTEAD, ESSEX[1] (P. C.)

London, March 22, 1762.

I MUST retract the Charge of Idleness in your Studies, when I find you have gone thro' the doubly difficult Task of reading so big a Book, on an abstruse Subject, and in a foreign Language.

The Question you were about to ask is a very sensible one. The Hand that holds the Bottle receives and conducts away the electric Fluid that is driven out of the outside by the repulsive Power of that which is forc'd into the inside of the Bottle. As long as that Power remains in the same Situation, it must prevent the Return of what it had expell'd; tho' the Hand would readily supply the Quantity if it could be received.

Your good Mama bids me tell you, that she has made Enquiry and finds that the School for Lovers[2] will not be acted till the Benefits are over; but when she hears that it

[1] This letter has always hitherto been printed from a fragment in "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 461. I have printed the whole letter from the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

[2] By W. Whitehead, 1762. — ED.

is to be acted she will send you timely Notice. I need not add that your and your Friends Company at Dinner that Day will be a great Pleasure to us all. But methinks 'tis a Pity, that when you are so desirous of studying in that School it should not be open: and must we be depriv'd of the Happiness of seeing you till it is? Rather than that should be, I would almost venture to undertake reading to you a few Lectures on the Subject myself.

If you are not to be in town in a few Days, I should be glad you would send the French Letters, on Electricity, as a Friend is desirous of perusing them.

My sincere Respects to Mrs. Tickell, Mrs. Rooke, Miss Pitt etc. and believe me ever, my dear Polly

Your affectionate Friend

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We were greatly alarm'd in the Night between Friday and Saturday by a Fire at the Bottom of the Street that has almost destroy'd two Houses. Our House and Yard were cover'd with falling Coals of Fire, but as it rain'd hard nothing catch'd. We mov'd a few of the most valuable Things; but suffer'd no Damage tho' we lost — some Rest.

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315. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, March 24, 1762

MY DEAR CHILD,

I condole with you most sincerely on the Death of our good Mother,[1] being extreamly sensible of the Distress and Affliction it must have thrown you into. Your Comfort will

[1] Mrs. Read, the mother of Mrs. Franklin. — ED.

be, that no Care was wanting on your Part towards her, and that she had lived as long as this Life could afford her any rational Enjoyment. 'Tis, I am sure, a Satisfaction to me, that I cannot charge myself with having ever fail'd in one Instance of Duty and Respect to her during the many Years that she call'd me Son. The Circumstances attending her Death were indeed unhappy in some Respects; but something must bring us all to our End, and few of us shall see her Length of Days. My Love to Brother John Read and Sister, and Cousin Debbey, and young Cousin Johnny Read, and let them all know, that I sympathize with them all affectionately.

This I write in haste, Mr. Beatty having just call'd on me to let me know, that he is about to set out for Portsmouth, in order to sail for America. I am finishing all Business here in order for my Return, which will either be in the Virginia Fleet, or by the Packet of May next, I am not yet determined which. I pray God grant us a happy Meeting.

We are all well, and Billy presents his Duty. Mr. Strahan has receiv'd your Letter, and wonders he has not been able to persuade you to come over. Mrs. Stevenson desires her Compliments; she expected Sally would have answer'd her Daughter's Letter, that went with the Gold Needle. I have receiv'd yours by the last Pacquet, and one from our Friend Mr. Hughes. I will try to write a Line to him if I have Time. If not, please to tell him, I will do all I can to serve him in his Affair. Acquaint Mr. Charles Norris, that I send him a Gardner in Bolitho.[1] The Particulars of your Letters I shall answer in the same ship. Tell Sally and

[1] That is, in Captain Bolitho's ship. — ED.

Cousin Johnny that I receiv'd their Letters also. I can now only add, that I am, as ever, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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316. TO REV. M——[1]

London, March 30, 1762.

REV'D SIR:—I am favoured with yours of the 27th instant, enclosing a bank note of £20, which makes £70 now repaid by Overal. I acquainted you in mine by last Saturday's post that I had reason to think the whole sum to be repaid would not be so great as I before computed it, and perhaps not exceeding £79 or £80. It will be a pleasure to me to find it so, that I may have no occasion to have recourse to the law, which is so disagreeable a thing for me, that through the whole course of my life I have never entered an action against any man. But I own I was not a little provoked with these people, as I concluded they must certainly have known of the mortgage (and indeed the letters they have since produced show that they did, particularly the last you mentioned of December 28, 1756); and yet when I asked them if there was no mortgage or other incumbrance on the estate, the man said none that he knew or had ever heard of; and the woman added: "And to be sure, if there had been any such thing in so long a time as we have received the rent, we must have heard of it." There was such an apparent simplicity in their manner, and they answered with such readiness and confidence, that I was

[1] From John Bigelow's "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, 287. — ED.

perfectly satisfied; and therefore the more surprised and chagrined when I afterwards found how easily I had been imposed on. They likewise had instructed Mr. Winterbottom to assure the purchaser (as he did me) that the house had lately undergone a thorough repair, whereas Spofford in his letter had informed them "it will soon want a great deal of repair." I think with you that they are weak and foolish people; but there seems no small mixture of knavery with their folly. I likewise imagined, as you do, that they were but little accustomed to money, from some conversation between them when they were about to receive it. The man said he had been bred to a trade, but that he never liked to work at it. "Well, my dear," says she, "you know you will now have no occasion ever to work any more." They seemed to think it so great a sum that it could never be spent.

I am very sensible, sir, that this must have been a disagreeable affair to you, and I am the more obliged. The very [mutilated] and generous manner in which you have executed it will ever demand my thankful acknowledgement, which I beg you to accept, and believe me, with the sincerest esteem and respect, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

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317. FROM DAVID HUME TO B. FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Edinburgh, May 10, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I have a great many thanks to give you for your goodness in remembering my request, and for the exact description, which you sent me of your method of preserving houses

from thunder. I communicated it to our Philosophical Society, as you gave me permission, and they desire me to tell you, that they claim it as their own, and intend to enrich with it the first collection, which they may publish. The established rule of our Society is, that, after a paper is read to them, it is delivered by them to some member, who is obliged, in a subsequent meeting, to read some paper of remarks upon it.

It was communicated to our friend, Mr. Russel; who is not very expeditious in finishing any undertaking; and he did not read his remarks, till the last week, which is the reason, why I have been so late in acknowledging your favour. Mr. Russel's remarks, besides the just praises of your invention, contained only two proposals for improving it. One was, that in houses, where the rain-water is carried off the roof by a lead pipe, this metallic body might be employed as a conductor to the electric fire, and save the expense of a new apparatus. Another was, that the wire might be carried down to the foundation of the house, and be thence conveyed below ground to the requisite distance, which would better secure it against accidents. I thought it proper to convey to you these two ideas of so ingenious a man, that you might adopt them, if they appear to you well founded.

I am very sorry, that you intend soon to leave our hemisphere. America has sent us many good things, gold, silver, sugar, tobacco, indigo, &c.; but you are the first philosopher, and indeed the first great man of letters for whom we are beholden to her. It is our own fault, that we have not kept him; whence it appears, that we do not agree with Solomon, that wisdom is above gold; for we take care never

to send back an ounce of the latter, which we once lay our fingers upon.

I saw yesterday our friend Sir Alexander Dick, who desired me to present his compliments to you. We are all very unwilling to think of your settling in America, and that there is some chance of our never seeing you again; but no one regrets it more than does,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

DAVID HUME.

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318. TO DAVID HUME[1]

London, May 19, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

It is no small pleasure to me to hear from you that my paper on the means of preserving buildings from damage by lightning, was acceptable to the Philosophical Society. Mr. Russel's[2] proposals of improvement are very sensible and just. A leaden spout or pipe is undoubtedly a good conductor, so far as it goes. If the conductor enters the ground just at the foundation, and from thence is carried horizontally to some well, or to a distant rod driven downright into the earth, I would then propose, that the part under the ground should be lead, as less liable to consume with rust than iron. Because, if the conductor near the foot of the wall should be wasted, the lightning might act on the

[1] The original is in the Library of the Royal Philosophical Society, Edinburgh. — ED.

[2] Alexander Russell (1715–1768) had been physician to the English factory at Aleppo. He wrote the "Natural History of Aleppo," and was elected F.R.S. in 1756. — ED.

moisture of the earth, and by suddenly rarefying it occasion an explosion, that may damage the foundation. In the experiment of discharging my large case of electrical bottles through a piece of small glass tube filled with water, the suddenly rarefied water has exploded with a force equal, I think, to that of so much gunpowder; bursting the tube into many pieces, and driving them with violence in all directions and to all parts of the room. The shivering of trees into small splinters, like a broom, is probably owing to this rarefaction of the sap in the longitudinal pores, or capillary pipes, in the substance of the wood. And the blowing up of bricks or stones in a hearth, rending stones out of a foundation, and splitting of walls, are also probably effects sometimes of rarefied moisture in the earth, under the hearth, or in the walls. We should therefore have a durable conductor under ground, or convey the lightning to the earth at some distance.

It must afford Lord Marischal[1] a good deal of diversion to preside in a dispute so ridiculous as that you mention. Judges in their decisions often use precedents. I have somewhere met with one, that is what the lawyers call a *case in point.* The Church people and the Puritans in a country town had once a bitter contention concerning the erecting of a Maypole, which the former desired and the latter opposed. Each party endeavoured to strengthen itself by obtaining the authority of the mayor, directing or forbidding a Maypole. He heard their altercation with great patience, and then gravely determined thus; "You, that are for hav-

[1] George Keith, tenth Earl Marischal (1693?–1778), served under Marlborough, participated in Mar's Rebellion, and escaped to the Continent. Frederick the Great appointed him Governor of Neuchâtel. — ED.

ing no Maypole, shall have no Maypole; and you, that are for having a Maypole, shall have a Maypole. Get about your business, and let me hear no more of this quarrel."

Your compliment of *gold* and *wisdom* is very obliging to me, but a little injurious to your country. The various value of every thing in every part of this world arises, you know, from the various proportions of the quantity to the demand. We are told, that gold and silver in Solomon's time were so plenty, as to be of no more value in his country than the stones in the street. You have here at present just such a plenty of wisdom. Your people are, therefore, not to be censured for desiring no more among them than they have; and if I have *any*, I should certainly carry it where, from its scarcity, it may probably come to a better market.

I nevertheless regret extremely the leaving a country in which I have received so much friendship, and friends whose conversation has been so agreeable and so improving to me; and that I am henceforth to reside at so great a distance from them is no small mortification to, my dear friend, yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My respectful compliments, if you please, to Sir Alexander Dick, Lord Kames, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Russel, and any other inquiring friends. I shall write to them before I leave the Island.

319. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

London, June 7, 1762.

DEAR POLLY,

I received your Favour of the 27th past, and have since expected your intended philosophical Epistle. But you have not had Leisure to write it!

Your good Mama is now perfectly well, as I think, excepting now and then a few Rheumatic Complaints, which, however, seem gradually diminishing. I am glad to hear you are about to enjoy the Happiness of seeing and being with your Friends at Bromley. My best Respects to the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth,[2] and say to the dear Ladies, that I kiss their Hands respectfully and affectionately.

Our Ships for America do not sail so soon as I expected; it will be yet 5 or 6 Weeks before we embark, and leave the old World for the New. I fancy I feel a little like dying Saints, who, in parting with those they love in this World, are only comforted with the Hope of more perfect Happiness in the next. I have, in America, Connections of the most engaging kind; and, happy as I have been in the Friendships here contracted, *those* promise me greater and more lasting Felicity. But God only knows whether these Promises shall be fulfilled. Adieu, my dear good Girl, and believe me ever your affectionate Friend, B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

[2] John Hawkesworth, LL.D. (1715–1773), editor of Swift (1755) and a contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. — ED.

320. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

Saturday, June 14, [1762]

MR. FRANKLIN'S compliments to Mr. Strahan, and out of pure kindness to him offers him an opportunity of exercising his benevolence as a man and his charity as a Christian. One Spencer, formerly a merchant of figure and credit in North America, being by various misfortunes reduced to poverty, is here in great distress, and would be made happy by any employment that would only enable him to eat, which he looks as if he had not done for some time. He is well acquainted with accounts, and writes a very fair hand, as Mr. S— may see by the enclosed letter. His expectations that brought him over, which are touched on in that letter, are at an end. He is a very honest man, but too much dispirited to put himself forward. Cannot some smouting in the writing way be got for him? Or some little clerkship? which he would execute very faithfully. He is at Mr. Cooper's, at the *Hat and Feather*, Snow Hill. Mr. F— has done what he could to serve him (to little purpose, indeed), and now leaves him as a legacy to good Mr. Strahan.

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321. ON FIRE[2] (L. C.)

Craven Street, June 21, 1762.

DID you ever see People at work with Spades and Pick-axes, digging a Cellar? When they have loosen'd the

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 289. — ED.

[2] From an Auto. d. (L. C. 36–37). — ED.

Earth perhaps a foot deep, that loose Earth must be carried off, or they can go no deeper; it is in their way, and hinders the Operation of the Instruments.

When the first foot of Earth is removed, they can dig and loosen the Earth a foot deeper. But if those who remove the Earth should with it take away the Spades and Pick-axes, the Work will be equally obstructed as if they had left the loose Earth unremoved.

I imagine the operation of Fire upon fuel with the Assistance of Air may be in some degree similar to this. Fire penetrates Bodies, and separates their Parts; the Air receives and carries off the Parts separated, which, if not carried off, would impede the action of the Fire. With this Assistance therefore of a moderate Current of Air, the Separation encreases, but too violent a Blast carries off the Fire itself; and thus any Fire may be blown out, as a Candle by the Breath, if the Blast be proportionable.

But, if Air contributed inflammatory Matter, as some have thought, then it should seem, that, the more Air, the more the Flame would be augmented, which beyond certain Bounds does not agree with the Fact.

Some Substances take Fire, that is, are kindled by the Application of Fire, much sooner than others. This is in proportion as they are good or bad Conductors of Fire, and as their Parts cohere with less or more Strength. A bad Conductor of Fire not easily permitting it to penetrate and be absorb'd, and its force divided among the whole Substance, its Operation is so much the Stronger on the Surface to which it is apply'd, and is in a small Depth of Surface strong enough to produce the Separation of Parts which we call *Burning*. All Oils and Fats, Wax, Sulphur,

and most vegetable Substances, are bad Conductors of Fire. The Oil of a Lamp, burning at the Top, may be scarce warm at the Bottom; a Candle or a Stick of Wood, inflam'd at one End, is cool at the other. Metals, which are better Conductors, are not so easily kindled, tho', when sufficient Fire is apply'd to them to separate their Parts, they will all burn. But the Fire apply'd to their Surfaces enters more easily, is absorb'd and divided; and not enough left on the Surface to overcome the stronger Cohesion of their Parts. A close Contact with Metals will for the same Reason prevent the burning of more inflammable Substances. A flaxen Thread, bound close round an Iron Poker, will not burn in the Flame of a Candle; for it must imbibe a certain Quantity of Fire before it can burn, that is, before its Parts can separate; but the Poker, as fast as the Fire arrives, takes it from the Thread, conducts it away, and divides it in its own Substance.

Common Fire I conceive to be collected by Friction from the common Mass of that Fluid, in the same manner as the electrical Fluid is collected by Friction, which I have endeavoured to explain in some of my electrical Papers, and, to avoid length in this Letter, refer you to them. In Wheels, the Particles of Grease and Oil acting as so many little Rollers, and Preventing Friction between the Wood and Wood, do thereby prevent the Collection of Fire.

322. ELECTRICAL EXPERIMENTS ON AMBER[1]

Saturday, July 3, 1762.

To try, at the request of a friend, whether amber finely powdered might be melted and run together again by means of the electric fluid, I took a piece of small glass tube about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the bore about $\frac{1}{12}$ of an inch diameter, the glass itself about the same thickness; I introduced into this tube some powder of amber, and with two pieces of wire nearly fitting the bore, one inserted at one end, the other at the other, I rammed the powder hard between them in the middle of the tube, where it stuck fast, and was in length about half an inch. Then leaving the wires in the tube, I made them part of the electric circuit, and discharged through them three rows of my case of bottles. The event was, that the glass was broke into very small pieces and those dispersed with violence in all directions. As I did not expect this, I had not, as in other experiments, laid thick paper over the glass to save my eyes, so several of the pieces struck my face smartly, and one of them cut my lip a little, so as to make it bleed. I could find no part of the amber; but the table where the tube lay was stained very black in spots, such as might be made by a thick smoke forced on it by a blast, and the air was filled with a strong smell, somewhat like that from burnt gunpowder. Whence I imagined, that the amber was burnt, and had exploded as gunpowder would have done in the same circumstances.

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 425. See also Letter to Dr. William Heberden, June 7, 1759 (Vol. III, p. 479). — ED.

That I might better see the effect on the amber, I made the next experiment in a tube formed of a card rolled up and bound strongly with packthread. Its bore was about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch diameter. I rammed powder of amber into this as I had done into the other, and as the quantity of amber was greater, I increased the quantity of electric fluid, by discharging through it at once 5 rows of my bottles. On opening the tube, I found that some of the powder had exploded, an impression was made on the tube though it was not burst, and most of the powder remaining was turned black, which I suppose might be by the smoke forced through it from the burnt part: Some of it was hard; but as it powdered again when pressed by the fingers, I suppose that hardness not to arise from melting any parts in it, but merely from my ramming the powder when I charged the tube.

B. FRANKLIN.

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323. TO GIAMBATISTA BECCARIA [1]

London, July 13, 1762.

REVEREND SIR,

I once promised myself the pleasure of seeing you at *Turin;* but as that is not now likely to happen, being just about returning to my native country, *America*, I sit down to take leave of you (among others of my *European* friends that I cannot see) by writing.

I thank you for the honourable mention you have so frequently made of me in your letters to Mr. *Collinson* and

[1] This letter, translated into Italian by Baron Vernazza, was published in Turin, 1769, and republished with sundry variations in *Scelta d'Opuscoli*, Milan, 1769, Vol. XV; Turin, 1775, Vol. XI. See "Memorie Istoriche intorno gli studi del Padre Giambatista Beccaria," 1783. — ED.

others, for the generous defence you undertook and executed with so much success, of my electrical opinions; and for the valuable present you have made me of your new work, from which I have received great information and pleasure. I wish I could in return entertain you with any thing new of mine on that subject; but I have not lately pursued it. Nor do I know of any one here, that is at present much engaged in it.

Perhaps, however, it may be agreeable to you, as you live in a musical country, to have an account of the new instrument lately added here to the great number that charming science was before possessed of: As it is an instrument that seems peculiarly adapted to *Italian* music, especially that of the soft and plaintive kind, I will endeavour to give you such a description of it, and of the manner of constructing it, that you, or any of your friends may be enabled to imitate it, if you incline so to do, without being at the expence and trouble of the many experiments I have made in endeavouring to bring it to its present perfection.

You have doubtless heard the sweet tone that is drawn from a drinking-glass, by passing a wet finger round its brim. One Mr. *Puckeridge*,[1] a gentleman from *Ireland*, was the first who thought of playing tunes, formed of these tones. He collected a number of glasses of different sizes, fixed them near each other on a table, and tuned them by putting into them water, more or less, as each note required. The tones were brought out by passing his fingers round their brims. He was unfortunately burnt here, with his instrument, in a fire which consumed the house he lived in. Mr.

[1] Richard Puckeridge, or Pockrich, inventor of the musical glasses. He died in 1759, about seventy years of age. — ED.

ARMONICA.

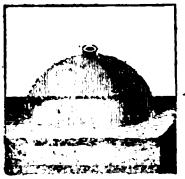
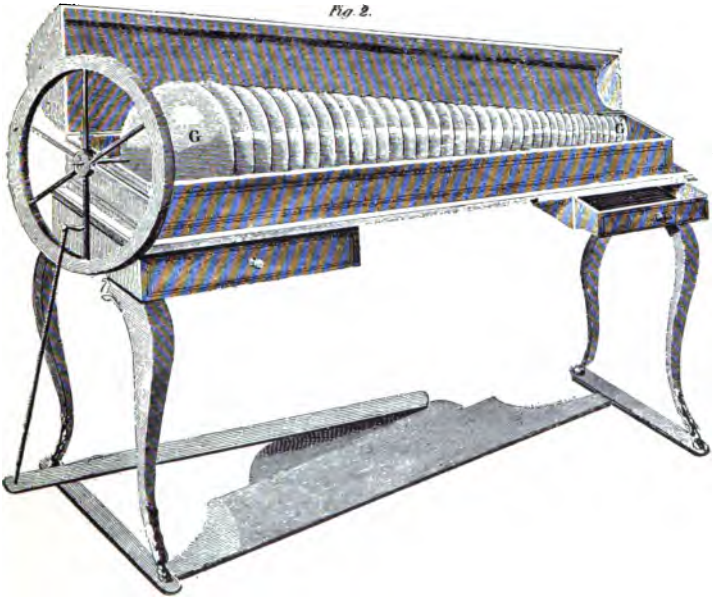


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



E. *Delaval*,[1] a most ingenious member of our Royal Society, made one in imitation of it, with a better choice and form of glasses, which was the first I saw or heard. Being charmed by the sweetness of its tones, and the music he produced from it, I wished only to see the glasses disposed in a more convenient form, and brought together in a narrower compass, so as to admit of a greater number of tunes, and all within reach of hand to a person sitting before the instrument, which I accomplished, after various intermediate trials, and less commodious forms, both of glasses and construction, in the following manner.

The glasses are blown as near as possible in the form of hemispheres, having each an open neck or socket in the middle. (See Plate, Figure 1.) The thickness of the glass near the brim about a tenth of an inch, or hardly quite so much, but thicker as it comes nearer the neck, which in the largest glasses is about an inch deep, and an inch and half wide within, these dimensions lessening as the glasses themselves diminish in size, except that the neck of the smallest ought not to be shorter than half an inch. The largest glass is nine inches diameter, and the smallest three inches. Between these there are twenty-three different sizes, differing from each other a quarter of an inch in diameter. To make a single instrument there should be at least six glasses blown of each size; and out of this number one may probably pick 37 glasses, (which are sufficient for three octaves with all the semitones) that will be each either the note one wants or a little sharper than that note, and all

[1] Edmund Hussey Delaval (1729–1814), F.R.S., gave an account of the effects of lightning on St. Bride's Church, and was associated with Franklin in the commission to report on the protection of St. Paul's from lightning. — ED.

fitting so well into each other as to taper pretty regularly from the largest to the smallest. It is true there are not 37 sizes, but it often happens that two of the same size differ a note or half note in tone, by reason of a difference in thickness, and these may be placed one in the other without sensibly hurting the regularity of the taper form.

The glasses being chosen and every one marked with a diamond the note you intend it for, they are to be tuned by diminishing the thickness of those that are too sharp. This is done by grinding them round from the neck towards the brim, the breadth of one or two inches, as may be required; often trying the glass by a well-tuned harpsichord, comparing the tone drawn from the glass by your finger, with the note you want, as sounded by that string of the harpsichord. When you come near the matter, be careful to wipe the glass clean and dry before each trial, because the tone is something flatter when the glass is wet, than it will be when dry; and grinding a very little between each trial, you will thereby tune to great exactness. The more care is necessary in this, because if you go below your required tone, there is no sharpening it again but by grinding somewhat off the brim, which will afterwards require polishing, and thus encrease the trouble.

The glasses being thus tuned, you are to be provided with a case for them, and a spindle on which they are to be fixed. (See Plate, Figure 2.) My case is about three feet long, eleven inches every way wide within at the biggest end, and five inches at the smallest end; for it tapers all the way, to adapt it better to the conical figure of the set of glasses. This case opens in the middle of its height, and the upper part turns up by hinges fixed behind. The spindle

which is of hard iron, lies horizontally from end to end of the box within, exactly in the middle, and is made to turn on brass gudgeons at each end. It is round, an inch diameter at the thickest end, and tapering to a quarter of an inch at the smallest. A square shank comes from its thickest end through the box, on which shank a wheel is fixed by a screw. This wheel serves as a fly to make the motion equable, when the spindle, with the glasses, is turned by the foot like a spinning-wheel. My wheel is of mahogany, 18 inches diameter, and pretty thick, so as to conceal near its circumference about 25 lb of lead. An ivory pin is fixed in the face of this wheel, and about 4 inches from the axis. Over the neck of this pin is put the loop of the string that comes up from the moveable step to give it motion. The case stands on a neat frame with four legs.

To fix the glasses on the spindle, a cork is first to be fitted in each neck pretty tight, and projecting a little without the neck, that the neck of one may not touch the inside of another when put together, for that would make a jarring. These corks are to be perforated with holes of different diameters, so as to suit that part of the spindle on which they are to be fixed. When a glass is put on, by holding it stiffly between both hands, while another turns the spindle, it may be gradually brought to its place. But care must be taken that the hole be not too small, lest, in forcing it up the neck should split; nor too large, lest the glass, not being firmly fixed, should turn or move on the spindle, so as to touch and jar against its neighbouring glass. The glasses thus are placed one in another, the largest on the biggest end of the spindle which is to the left hand; the neck of this glass is towards the wheel, and the next goes into it in the

same position, only about an inch of its brim appearing beyond the brim of the first; thus proceeding, every glass when fixed shows about an inch of its brim (or three quarters of an inch, or half an inch, as they grow smaller) beyond the brim of the glass that contains it; and it is from these exposed parts of each glass that the tone is drawn, by laying a finger upon one of them as the spindle and glasses turn round.

My largest glass is G, a little below the reach of a common voice, and my highest G, including three compleat octaves. To distinguish the glasses the more readily to the eye, I have painted the apparent parts of the glasses within side, every semitone white, and the other notes of the octave with the seven prismatic colours, *viz.* C, red; D, orange; E, yellow; F, green; G, blue; A, indigo; B, purple; and C, red again; so that glasses of the same colour (the white excepted) are always octaves to each other.

This instrument is played upon, by sitting before the middle of the set of glasses as before the keys of a harpsichord, turning them with the foot, and wetting them now and then with a spunge and clean water. The fingers should be first a little soaked in water, and quite free from all greasiness; a little fine chalk upon them is sometimes useful, to make them catch the glass and bring out the tone more readily. Both hands are used, by which means different parts are played together. Observe, that the tones are best drawn out when the glasses turn *from* the ends of the fingers, not when they turn *to* them.

The advantages of this instrument are, that its tones are incomparably sweet beyond those of any other; that they may be swelled and softened at pleasure by stronger or

weaker pressures of the finger, and continued to any length; and that the instrument, being once well tuned, never again wants tuning.

In honour of your musical language, I have borrowed from it the name of this instrument, calling it the Armonica.[1]

With great esteem and respect, I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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324. TO OLIVER NEAVE[2]

July 20, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I have perused your paper on sound, and would freely mention to you, as you desire it, every thing that appeared to me to need correction: But nothing of that kind occurs to me, unless it be, where you speak of the air as "the *best* medium for conveying sound." Perhaps this is speaking rather too positively, if there be, as I think there are, some other mediums that will convey it farther and more readily. It is a well-known experiment, that the scratching of a pin at one end of a long piece of timber, may be heard by an ear applied near the other end, though it could not be heard at the same distance through the air. And two stones being struck smartly together under water, the stroke may be heard at a greater distance by an ear also placed under water in the same river, than it can be heard through the air.

[1] Some other particulars respecting the *Armonica* may be found in a letter to M. Dubourg, December 8, 1772. — ED.

[2] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 435. Oliver Neave was one of a family of Anglo-American merchants, trading in London and Philadelphia. They were also connected with the shipping firm of Neate and Neave. — ED.

I think I have heard it near a mile; how much farther it may be heard, I know not; but suppose a great deal farther, because the sound did not seem faint, as if at a distance, like distant sounds through air, but smart and strong; and as if present just at the ear. I wish you would repeat these experiments now you are upon the subject, and add your own observations. And if you were to repeat, with your naturally exact attention and observation, the common experiment of the bell in the exhausted receiver, possibly something new may occur to you, in considering,

1. Whether the experiment is not ambiguous; *i.e.* whether the gradual exhausting of the air, as it creates an increasing difference of pressure on the outside, may not occasion in the glass a difficulty of vibrating, that renders it less fit to communicate to the air without, the vibrations that strike it from within; and the diminution of the sound arise from this cause, rather than from the diminution of the air?

2. Whether as the particles of air themselves are at a distance from each other, there must not be some medium between them, proper for conveying sound, since otherwise it would stop at the first particle?

3. Whether the great difference we experience in hearing sounds at a distance, when the wind blows towards us from the sonorous body, or towards that from us, can be well accounted for by adding to or subtracting from the swiftness of sound, the degree of swiftness that is in the wind at the time? The latter is so small in proportion, that it seems as if it could scarce produce any sensible effect, and yet the difference is very great. Does not this give some hint, as if there might be a subtile fluid, the conductor of sound, which moves at different times in different directions over

the surface of the earth, and whose motion may perhaps be much swifter than that of the air in our strongest winds; and that in passing through air, it may communicate that motion to the air which we call wind, though a motion in no degree so swift as its own?

4. It is somewhere related, that a pistol fired on the top of an exceeding high mountain, made a noise like thunder in the valleys below. Perhaps this fact is not exactly related: but if it is, would not one imagine from it, that the rarer the air, the greater sound might be produced in it from the same cause?

5. Those balls of fire which are sometimes seen passing over a country, computed by philosophers to be often 30 miles high at least, sometimes burst at that height; the air must be exceeding rare there, and yet the explosion produces a sound that is heard at that distance, and for 70 miles round on the surface of the earth, so violent too as to shake buildings, and give an apprehension of an earthquake. Does not this look as if a rare atmosphere, almost a vacuum, was no bad conductor of sound?

I have not made up my mind on these points, and only mention them for your consideration, knowing that every subject is the better for your handling it.

With the greatest esteem, I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

325. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN [AT BATH][1]

London, July 20, 1762.

DEAR SIR: — I received your very kind letter and invitation to Bath where I am sure I could spend some days very happily with you and Mrs. Strahan, if my time would permit; but the man-of-war, that is to be our convoy, is under sailing orders for the 30th of this month so that 't is impossible for me to leave London till I leave it forever, having at least twenty days' work to do in the ten days that are only left me.

I shall send to the Angel Inn in Oxford a parcel directed to you, containing books I send as presents to some acquaintance there; which I beg you would cause to be delivered. I shall write a line to one of them, as you desire. The parcel is to go by Thursday's coach.

I hope for the pleasure of seeing you before I set out. Billy and Mrs. Stevenson join in respects and best wishes for you and Mrs. Strahan, with dear Friend, Yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN

P. S. — I feel here like a thing out of its place, and useless because it is out of its place. How then can I any longer be happy in England? You have great power of persuasion, and might easily prevail on me to do any thing; but not any longer to do nothing. I must go home. Adieu.

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 207. — ED.

326. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN [AT OXFORD][1]

London, July 23, 1762.

DEAR STRANEY: — As Dr. Hawkesworth calls you, I send you inclosed a line to my good friend Dr. Kelley; which you will do me the favour to deliver with the parcel directed to him. As it is vacation time I doubt whether any other acquaintance of mine may be in Oxford, or at least any on whose good nature I could so far presume; tho' according to the way of the world, having received a civility, gives one a kind of right to demand another; they took the trouble of showing me Oxford, and therefore I might request them to show it to any of my friends. None of the Oxford people are under any other obligation to me than that of having already oblig'd me, and being oblig'd to go on as they have begun. My best respects to Mrs. Strahan, and love to little Peggy. They say we are to sail in a week or ten days. I expect to see you once more. I value myself much, on being able to resolve on doing the right thing, in opposition to your almost irresistible eloquence, secretly supported and backed by my own treacherous inclinations. Adieu, my dear friend. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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327. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[2] (P. C.)

MY DEAR POLLY, Portsmouth, Augt 11, 1762

This is the best Paper I can get at this wretched Inn, but it will convey what is intrusted to it as faithfully as the

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 208. — ED.

[2] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

finest. It will tell my Polly how much her Friend is afflicted, that he must, perhaps, never again, see one for whom he has so sincere an Affection, join'd to so perfect an Esteem; who he once flatter'd himself might become his own, in the tender Relation of a Child, but can now entertain such pleasing Hopes no more. Will it tell *how much* he is afflicted? No, it cannot.

Adieu, my dearest Child. I will call you so. Why should I not call you so, since I love you with all the Tenderness, All the Fondness of a Father? Adieu. May the God of all Goodness shower down his choicest Blessings upon you, and make you infinitely Happier, than that Event could have made you. Adieu. And, wherever I am, believe me to be, with unalterable Affection, my dear Polly, your sincere Friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

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328. TO LORD KAMES[1]

Portsmouth, August 17, 1762.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it, without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those, who are leaving this world for the next: grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future. These different passions all affect their minds at once; and these have *tendered* me down exceed-

[1] From "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames," Vol. II, p. 10. — ED.

ingly. It is usual for the dying to beg forgiveness of their surviving friends, if they have ever offended them.

Can you, my Lord, forgive my long silence, and my not acknowledging till now the favour you did me in sending me your excellent book? Can you make some allowance for a fault in others, which you have never experienced in yourself; for the bad habit of postponing from day to day, what one every day resolves to do to-morrow? A habit that grows upon us with years, and whose only excuse is we know not how to mend it. If you are disposed to favour me, you will also consider how much one's mind is taken up and distracted by the many little affairs one has to settle before the undertaking such a voyage, after so long a residence in a country; and how little, in such a situation, one's mind is fitted for serious and attentive reading; which, with regard to the *Elements of Criticism*, I intended before I should write. I can now only confess and endeavour to amend. In packing up my books I have reserved yours to read on the passage. I hope I shall therefore be able to write to you upon it soon after my arrival. At present I can only return my thanks, and say that the parts I have read gave me both pleasure and instruction; that I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals; and that I have had the satisfaction of hearing the work universally commended by those who have read it.

And now, my dear Sir, accept my sincere thanks for the kindness you have shewn me, and my best wishes of happiness to you and yours. Wherever I am, I shall esteem the friendship you honour me with as one of the felicities of my life; I shall endeavour to cultivate it by a more punctual

correspondence, and I hope frequently to hear of your welfare and prosperity. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours, B. FRANKLIN.

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329. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (P. C.)

Portsmouth, Monday, Augt 23, 1762.

DEAR SIR: — I have been two Nights on board expecting to sail, but the Wind continuing contrary, am just now come on shore again, and have met with your kind Letter of the 20th. I thank you even for the Reproofs it contains, tho' I have not altogether deserved them. I cannot, I assure you, quit even this disagreable Place without Regret, as it carries me still farther from those I love, and from the Opportunities of hearing of their Welfare. The Attraction of Reason is at present for the other side of the Water, but that of Inclination will be for this side. You know which usually prevails. I shall probably make but this one Vibration and settle here forever. Nothing will prevent it, if I can, as I hope I can, prevail with Mrs. F. to accompany me, especially if we have a Peace. I will not tell you that to be near and with you and yours is any part of my Inducement: It would look like a Compliment extorted from me by your Pretences to Insignificancy. Nor will I own that your Persuasion and Arguments have wrought this Change in my former Resolutions: tho' it is true that they have frequently intruded themselves into my Consideration whether I would or not. I trust, however, that we shall

[1] From the original in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania. — ED.

once more see each other, and be happy again together, which God, &c.

My Love to Mrs. Strahan, and your amiable and valuable Children. Heaven bless you all whatever becomes of
Your much oblig'd and affectionate Friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

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330. TO JOHN PRINGLE[1]

Philadelphia, Dec. 1, 1762.

SIR,

During our passage to Madeira, the weather being warm, and the cabbin windows constantly open for the benefit of the air, the candles at night flared and run very much, which was an inconvenience. At Madeira we got oil to burn, and with a common glass tumbler or beaker, slung in wire, and suspended to the cieling of the cabbin, and a little wire hoop for the wick, furnish'd with corks to float on the oil, I made an Italian lamp, that gave us very good light all over the table. The glass at bottom contained water to about one third of its height; another third was taken up with oil; the rest was left empty that the sides of the glass might protect the flame from the wind. There is nothing remarkable in all this; but what follows is particular. At supper, looking on the lamp, I remarked that tho' the surface of the oil was perfectly tranquil, and duly preserved its position and distance with regard to the brim of the glass, the water under the oil was in great commotion, rising and falling in irregular waves, which continued during the whole evening. The

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 438. — ED.

lamp was kept burning as a watch-light all night, till the oil was spent, and the water only remain'd. In the morning I observed, that though the motion of the ship continued the same, the water was now quiet, and its surface as tranquil as that of the oil had been the evening before. At night again, when oil was put upon it, the water resum'd its irregular motions, rising in high waves almost to the surface of the oil, but without disturbing the smooth level of that surface. And this was repeated every day during the voyage.

Since my arrival in America, I have repeated the experiment frequently thus. I have put a pack-thread round a tumbler, with strings of the same, from each side, meeting above it in a knot at about a foot distance from the top of the tumbler. Then putting in as much water as would fill about one third part of the tumbler, I lifted it up by the knot, and swung it to and fro in the air; when the water appeared to keep its place in the tumbler as steadily as if it had been ice. But pouring gently in upon the water about as much oil, and then again swinging it in the air as before, the tranquility before possessed by the water was transferred to the surface of the oil, and the water under it was agitated with the same commotions as at sea.

I have shewn this experiment to a number of ingenious persons. Those who are but slightly acquainted with the principles of hydrostatics, &c. are apt to fancy immediately that they understand it, and readily attempt to explain it; but their explanations have been different, and to me not very intelligible. Others more deeply skilled in those principles, seem to wonder at it, and promise to consider it. And I think it is worth considering: For a new appearance, if it cannot be explain'd by our old principles, may afford

us new ones, of use perhaps in explaining some other obscure parts of natural knowledge. I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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331. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

Philadelphia, December 2, 1762

DEAR STRANEY: — As good Dr. Hawkesworth calls you, to whom my best respects. I got home well the 1st of November, and had the happiness to find my little family perfectly well, and that Dr. Smith's reports of the diminutions of my friends were all false. My house has been full of a succession of them from morning to night, ever since my arrival, congratulating me on my return with the utmost cordiality and affection. My fellow citizens, while I was on the sea, had, at the annual election, chosen me unanimously, as they had done every year while I was in England, to be their representative in Assembly and would, they say, if I had not disappointed them by coming privately to town before they heard of my landing, have met me with 500 horse. Excuse my vanity in writing this to you who know what has provoked me to it. My love to good Mrs. Strahan, and your children, particularly my little wife. I shall write more fully per next opportunity, having now only time to add that I am, with unchangeable affection, my dear friend, Yours sincerely,

B. FRANKLIN.

Mrs. Franklin and Sally desire their compliments and thanks to you all for your kindness to me while in England.

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 214. — ED.

332. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] Dec. 7, 1762.

DEAR FRIEND

I wrote to you some time since to acquaint you with my Arrival and the kind Reception I met with from my old and many new Friends, notwithstanding Dr. Smith's false Reports in London of my Interest as declining here. I could not wish for a more hearty Welcome, and I never experienc'd greater Cordiality. We had a long Passage near ten Weeks from Portsmouth to this Place, but it was a pleasant one; for we had ten sail in Company and a Man of War[2] to protect us; we had pleasant Weather and fair Winds, and frequently visited and dined from ship to ship; we call'd too at the delightful Island of Madeira, by way of half-way House, where we replenish'd our Stores and took in many Refreshments. It was the time of their Vintage, and we hung the Cieling of the Cabin with Bunches of fine Grapes, which serv'd as a Dissert at Dinner for some Weeks afterwards. The Reason of our being so long at Sea, was, that sailing with a Convoy, we could none of us go faster than the slowest, being oblig'd every day to shorten Sail or lay by till they came up; this was the only Inconvenience of our having Company, which was abundantly made up to us by the Sense of greater Safety, the mutual good Offices daily exchanged and the other Pleasures of Society. I have no Line from you yet but I hope there is a Letter on its way to me.

[1] From the original in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. — ED.

[2] It was the Scarborough, Capt. Stott, who took the greatest Care of his little Convoy that can be imagined, and brought us all safely to our several Ports. I wish you would mention this to his Honour in your Paper. — F.

My Son is not yet arrived, and I begin to think he will spend the Winter with you. Mr. Hall I suppose writes by this Ship. I mention'd what you desir'd in your Letter to me at Portsmouth; he informs me he has made some Remittances since I left England, and shall as fast as possible clear the Acc^{t}. He blames himself for ordering so large a Cargo at once, and will keep more within Bounds hereafter.

Mr. Hall sends you I believe, for Sale, some Poetic Pieces of our young Geniuses; it would encourage them greatly if their Performances could obtain any favourable Reception in England; I wish therefore you would take the proper Steps to get them recommended to the Notice of the Publick as far at least as you may find they deserve. I know that no one can do this better than yourself.

You have doubtless long since done Rejoicing on the Conquest of the Havana. It is indeed a Conquest of great Importance; but it has cost us dear, extreamly dear, when we consider the Havock made in our little brave Army by Sickness. I hope it will, in the Making of Peace, procure us some Advantages in Commerce or Possession that may in time countervail the heavy Loss we have sustained in that Enterprize.

I must joyn with David in petitioning that you would write us all the Politicks; you have an Opportunity of hearing them all, and no one that is not quite in the Secret of Affairs can judge better of them. I hope the crazy Heads that have been so long raving about Scotchmen and Scotland are by this time either broke or mended.

My dear Love to Mrs. Strahan and bid her be well for all our sakes. Remember me affectionately to Rachey and my little Wife and to your promising Sons my young Friends

Billy, George, and Andrew. God bless you, and let me find you well and happy when I come again to England; happy England! My Respects to Mr. Johnson; I hope he has got the Armonica in order before this time, and that Rachey plays daily with more and more Boldness and Grace, to the absolute charming of all her Acquaintance.

In two Years at farthest I hope to settle all my Affairs in such a Manner, as that I *may* then conveniently remove to England, — provided we can persuade the good Woman to cross the Seas. That will be the great Difficulty: but you can help me a little in removing it.

Present my Compliments to all enquiring Friends, and believe me Ever

My dear Friend
Yours most affectionately
B. FRANKLIN.

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333. TO PETER COLLINSON[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] Dec. 7, 1762

DEAR FRIEND

I arrived here the first of last Month and had the great Happiness, after so long Absence, to find my little Family well, and my Friends as cordial and more numerous than ever.

Mr. Bartram I suppose writes to you concerning the great Bones at the Ohio. I have delivered to him and to the Library Company what you sent by me.

There is great Complaint here of the last Summer's Drought. It has occasion'd a great Scarcity of Hay, and if

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. — ED.

the Winter proves hard the Creatures must greatly suffer. Apples too have generally fail'd this Year. Accept my sincerest Thanks for all your Kindness to me and my Son while in England and my best Wishes of Long Life, Health, and Happiness to you and yours.

With the greatest Esteem and Attachment
I am, dear friend,
Yours most affectionately
B. FRANKLIN

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334. TO CALEB WHITEFOORD[1] (A. P. S.)

Philad[a], Dec. 7, 1762.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your kind Congratulations on my Son's Promotion and Marriage.[2] If he makes a good Governor, and a good Husband, (as I hope he will, for I know he has good Principles and good Disposition,) those Events will both of them give me continual Pleasure.

The Taking of the Havania, on which I congratulate you, is a Conquest of the greatest Importance, and will doubtless contribute a due Share of Weight in procuring us reasonable Terms of Peace; if John Bull does not get drunk with Victory, double his Fists, and bid all the World kiss his Arse; till he provokes them to drub him again into his senses.

[1] Caleb Whitefoord (1734–1810) lived at 8 Craven Street, next door to Franklin. See "The Whitefoord Papers," ed. W. A. S. Hewins, M.A., Oxford, 1898, p. 141. I have printed the letter from the rough draft in A. P. S. The words in brackets are found only in the original letter, as published by Mr. Hewins. — ED.

[2] William Franklin was appointed governor of New Jersey, August, 1762. He married Miss Downes, September 5, 1762. — ED.

It has been however the dearest Conquest by far that we have made [purchased] this War, when we consider the terrible Havock made by Sickness in that brave Army of Veterans, now almost totally ruined. I thank you for the humourous and sensible Print you sent me, which afforded me and several of my Friends great Pleasure. The Piece from your own Pencil is acknowledg'd to bear a strong and striking Likeness, but it is otherwise such a picture of your Friend,[1] as Dr. Smith would have drawn, *black, and all black.*[2] I think you will hardly understand this Remark, but your Neighbour [good] Mrs. Stevenson can explain it. Painting has yet scarce made her Appearance among us; but her Sister Art, Poetry, has some Votaries. I send you a few Blossoms of American Verse, the Lispings of our young Muses; which I hope your Motherly Critics will treat with some indulgence.

I shall never touch the sweet Strings of the British Lyre, [Harp] without remembring my British Friends, and particularly the kind Giver of the Instrument, who has my best Wishes of Happiness for himself and for his Wife and his Children, when [against] it pleases God to send him any. I am, Dear Sir, with the sincerest Esteem, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] That is, Benjamin Franklin. — ED.

[2] "That famous horse Othello, alias Black and all Black." — "New Foundling Hospital for Wit," 1784, v. 269. — ED.

335. TO JARED INGERSOLL[1]

Philadelphia, December 11, 1762.

DEAR SIR: — I thank you for your kind congratulations. It gives me pleasure to hear from an old friend; it will give me much more pleasure to see him. I hope, therefore, nothing will prevent the journey you propose for next summer and the favour you intend me of a visit. I believe I must make a journey early in the spring to Virginia, but purpose being back again before the hot weather. You will be kind enough to let me know beforehand what time you expect to be here, that I may not be out of the way, for that would mortify me exceedingly.

I should be glad to know what it is that distinguishes Connecticut religion from common religion. Communicate, if you please, some of these particulars that you think will amuse me as a virtuoso. When I travelled in Flanders, I thought of your excessively strict observation of Sunday; and that a man could hardly travel on that day among you upon his lawful occasions without hazard of punishment; while, where I was, every one travelled, if he pleased, or diverted himself in any other way; and in the afternoon both high and low went to the play or the opera, where there was plenty of singing, fiddling and dancing. I looked around for God's judgments, but saw no signs of them. The cities were well built and full of inhabitants, the markets filled with plenty, the people well favoured and well clothed, the fields well tilled, the cattle fat and strong, the fences,

[1] In the possession of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Jared Ingersoll (1722–1781) was stamp agent for Connecticut. — ED.

houses, and windows all in repair, and no Old Tenor anywhere in the country; which would almost make one suspect that the Deity is not so angry at that offence as a New England Justice.

I left our friend Mr. Jackson well, and I had the great pleasure of finding my little family well when I came home, and my friends as cordial and more numerous than ever. May every prosperity attend you and yours. I am, dear friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

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336. TO MR. P[ETER] F[RANKLIN,] AT NEWPORT[1]

. . . You may acquaint the gentleman that desired you to enquire my opinion of the best method of securing a powder magazine from lightning, that I think they cannot do better than to erect a mast not far from it, which may reach 15 or 20 feet above the top of it, with a thick iron rod in one piece fastened to it, pointed at the highest end, and reaching down through the earth till it comes to water. Iron is a cheap metal; but if it were dearer, as this is a publick thing, the expence is insignificant; therefore I would have the rod at least an inch thick, to allow for its gradually wasting by rust; it will last as long as the mast, and may be renewed with it. The sharp point for five or six inches should be gilt.

But there is another circumstance of importance to the strength, goodness and usefulness of the powder, which does not seem to have been enough attended to: I mean the keeping it perfectly dry. For want of a method of doing

[1] From "Experiments and Observations on Electricity," London, 1769, p. 441. — ED.

this, much is spoilt in damp magazines, and much so damaged as to become of little value. If, instead of barrels, it were kept in cases of bottles well cork'd; or in large tin canisters, with small covers shutting close by means of oil'd paper between, or covering the joining on the canister; or if in barrels, then the barrels lined with thin sheet lead; no moisture in either of these methods could possibly enter the powder, since glass and metals are both impervious to water.

By the latter of these means you see tea is brought dry and crisp from China to Europe, and thence to America, tho' it comes all the way by sea in the damp hold of a ship. And by this method, grain, meal, &c., if well dry'd before 'tis put up, may be kept for ages sound and good.

There is another thing very proper to line small barrels with; it is what they call tin-foil, or leaf-tin, being tin mill'd between rollers till it becomes as thin as paper, and more pliant, at the same time that its texture is extreamly close. It may be apply'd to the wood with common paste, made with boiling water thicken'd with flour; and, so laid on, will lie very close and stick well: But I should prefer a hard, sticky varnish for that purpose, made of linseed oil much boil'd. The heads might be lined separately, the tin wrapping a little round their edges. The barrel, while the lining is laid on, should have the end hoops slack, so that the staves standing at a little distance from each other, may admit the head into its groove. The tin-fold should be plyed into the groove. Then one head being put in, and that end hoop'd tight, the barrel would be fit to receive the powder, and when the other head is put in and the hoops drove up, the powder would be safe from moisture even if the barrel

were kept under water. This tin-foil is but about 18 pence sterling a pound, and is so extreamly thin, that I imagine a pound of it would line three or four powder barrels.

I am, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

337. TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] Jany. 23, 1763.

I RECEIVED with great Pleasure my dear Friend's Favour of Decem[r] 20, as it informed me that you and yours are all well. Mrs. Franklin admits of your Apology for dropping the Correspondence with her, and allows your Reasons to be good; but hopes when you have more Leisure it may be renew'd. She joins with me in congratulating you on your present happy Situation. She bids me say, she supposes you proceeded regularly in your Arithmetic, and that, before you got into *Multiplication*, you learnt *Addition*, in which you must often have had Occasion to say: *One that I carry, and two, makes Three.* — And now I have writ this, she bids me scratch it out again. I am loth to deface my Letter so e'en let it be — I thank you for your kind Invitation. I purpose a Journey into New England in the Spring or Summer coming. I shall not fail to pay my Respects to you & Mr. Greene when I come your Way. Please to make my Compliments acceptable to him —

I have had a most agreeable time of it in Europe; have in company with my Son, been in most Parts of England, Scotland, Flanders and Holland; and generally have enjoyed

[1] From the *Rhode Island Mercury*, April 10, 1896. — ED.

a good share of Health. — If you had ask'd the rest of your Questions, I could more easily have made this Letter longer. Let me have them in your next. — I think I am not much alter'd; at least my Esteem & Regard for my Katy (if I may still be permitted to call her so) is the same, and I believe will be unalterable whilst

I am

B. FRANKLIN.

My best Respects to your
good Brother & Sister Ward.
My Daughter presents her Compliments.
My Son is not yet arriv'd.

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338. TO ISAAC NORRIS (P. H. S.)

Philad[a] Feb. 15. 1763

SIR,

It is now six Years, since, in obedience to the Order of the House, I undertook a Voyage to England, to transact their Affairs there.

Fifteen Hundred Pounds of the Public Money was at different Times put into my Hands, for which I ought to account.

The following Articles are vouch'd by the Receipts inclos'd, viz

1758	Jan. 26.	Paid Robert Charles Esqr for the Province *26 Guineas*	27 // 6 // 0
	April 20.	Paid Richard Partridge Esq for Ditto	40 // 0 . 0
	May 2.	Paid D[o] for D[o]	30 // 0 // 0
	Sept. 27.	Paid T. Osborne for 3 Vols Journals House of Commons	10 // 10 / 0
		And for Indexes to the whole	1 // 1 / 0

1759	Dec. 31.	Paid Accounts for Printing sundry Pieces in Defence of the Province	213 // 13 . 0
1760	Dec. 2.	Paid the Solicitor's Bill	470 // 8 . 8
			£792 // 18 // 8
		Deduct 1/6th of the Solicitor's Bill it being charg'd in the Trustees Acct	78 // 8 . 1
			£714 : 10 : 7

I made many other Disbursements for which I have no Receipts; such as for Postage of Letters and Pacquets, which were often very heavy, containing Bills and Duplicates &c. under the Great Seal, brought by Post to London from the Out-Ports, which to compute moderately could not, I think, fall short of 15 £ per Annum. Also for customary New Year's Gifts, and Christmas Presents to Door-keepers & Clerks of the Public Offices, Tavern Dinners for the Lawyers and our other Friends at Hearings, Coach Hire, &c. for which I know not what to reckon, having kept no Account of such things. —

I therefore can make no Claim of Allowance for them.

The House will therefore please to consider the remainder of the 1500 £ put into my Hands, so unaccounted for, as now in their Disposition; for as to any Compensation for my Time & Pains in their Service, tho' I am conscious of having done faithfully every thing in my Power for the Public Good, according to the best of my Abilities, yet as the House, when they appointed me their Agent at first, and afterwards from Year to Year, did not vote any particular Sum as my Salary, I am therefore not warranted to charge any thing, but do now, with the same Confidence I have ever had in the Justice

& Goodness of the House, chearfully submit the same to their present Discretion.

With the greatest Respect & Esteem I am,

Sir, Your most obedient
& most humble Servant
B FRANKLIN

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339. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN [1] (P. C.)

Philad[a], Feb. 23. 1763.

DEAR STRANEY: — I have only time to write one line by this Conveyance, just to congratulate you on the glorious Peace you have made, the most advantageous for the British Nation, in my Opinion, of any your Annals have recorded. The Places you have left or restor'd to the French, I look upon to be so much in our Power in Case of a future War, as to be so many Hostages or Pledges of their good Behaviour.

Love to Mrs. Strahan and your Children. Billy joins in every affectionate Sentiment, with, dear Friend,

Yours affectionately
B. FRANKLIN.

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340. CONGELATION OF QUICKSILVER. — COLD PRODUCED BY EVAPORATION [2] (A. P. S.)

Perth Amboy, Feb. 26, 1763.

THE most remarkable Discovery that has been made within these Three Years is, that Quicksilver is in reality a melted

[1] From the original in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. — ED.

[2] This is a fragmentary rough draft of a letter in the handwriting of Franklin (A. P. S.). It is not known to whom it was written. — ED.

Metal, with this Character only, that of all others it requires the least Heat to melt it. The Academy of Sciences at Petersburg have found, that by dipping a mercurial Thermometer into repeated cooling mixtures, and so taking from the Mercury the Heat that was in it, they have brought it down some hundred degrees (the exact Number I cannot remember) below the freezing Point, when the Mercury became solid and would sink no longer; and then the Glass being broke it came out in the Form of a silver Bullet adhering to a Wire, which was the slender part that had been in the Tube. Upon tryal it was found malleable and was hammer'd out to the Bigness of a Half-Crown, but soon after on receiving a small Degree of Warmth it return'd gradually to its Fluid State again. This Experiment was repeated by several Members of that Academy two Winters successively, and an authentic Account of it transmitted to our Royal Society.

I suppose you have seen, in the 2d Vol. of the new Philosophical Essays of ye Edinburg Society, an Account of some Experiments to produce Cold by Evaporation, made by Dr. Cullen, who mentions the like having been before made at Petersburgh. I think it is but lately that our European Philosophers have known or acknowledged any thing of such a Power in Nature. But I find it has been long known in the East. Bernier, in the Account of his Travels into India, written above 100 years since, mentions the Custom of Travellers carrying their Water in Flasks covered with wet wrappers, and hung to the Pomels of their saddles, so as that the Wind might act upon them, and so cool the Water. I have also seen a kind of Jar for cooling Water, made of Potter's Earth glaz'd, and so porous that the Water gradually oused thro' to the Surface, supplying Water just sufficient for a Constant

Evaporation. I try'd it and found the Water within much cooler in a few Hours. This Jar was brought from Egypt.

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341. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] March 25, 1763.

MY DEAR POLLEY,

Your pleasing Favour of Nov. 11 is now before me. It found me as you suppos'd it would, happy with my American Friends and Family about me; and it made me more happy in showing me that I am not yet forgotten by the dear Friends I left in England. And indeed, why should I fear they will ever forget me, when I feel so strongly that I shall ever remember them!

I sympathise with you sincerely in your Grief at the Separation from your old Friend, Miss Pitt. The Reflection that she is going to be more happy, when she leaves you, might comfort you, if the Case was likely to be so circumstanc'd; but when the Country and Company she has been educated in, and those she is removing to, are compared, one cannot possibly expect it. I sympathize no less with you in your Joys. But it is not merely on your Account, that I rejoice at the Recovery of your dear Dolly's[2] Health. I love that dear good Girl myself, and I love her other Friends. I am, therefore, made happy by what must contribute so much to the Happiness of them all. Remember me to her, and to every one of that worthy and amiable Family, most affectionately.

Remember me in the same manner to your and my good

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

[2] Miss Dorothea Blount. — ED.

Doctor and Mrs. Hawkesworth. You have lately, you tell me, had the Pleasure of spending three Days with them at Mr. Stanley's.[1] It was a sweet Society! I too, once partook of that same Pleasure, and can therefore feel what you must have felt. Remember me also to Mr. and Mrs. Stanley, and to Miss Arlond.

Of all the enviable Things England has, I envy it most its People. Why should that petty Island, which compar'd to America, is but like a stepping-Stone in a Brook, scarce enough of it above Water to keep one's Shoes dry; why, I say, should that little Island enjoy in almost every Neighbourhood, more sensible, virtuous, and elegant Minds, than we can collect in ranging 100 Leagues of our vast Forests? But 'tis said the Arts delight to travel Westward. You have effectually defended us in this glorious War, and in time you will improve us. After the first Cares for the Necessaries of Life are over, we shall come to think of the Embellishments. Already some of our young Geniuses begin to lisp Attempts at Painting, Poetry, and Musick. We have a young Painter now studying at Rome.[2] Some Specimens of our Poetry I send you, which if Dr. Hawkesworth's fine Taste cannot approve, his good Heart will at least excuse. The Manuscript Piece is by a young Friend of mine, and was occasion'd by the Loss of one of his Friends, who lately made a Voyage to Antigua to settle some Affairs, previous to an intended Marriage with an amiable young Lady here, but unfortunately died there. I send it to you, because the Author is a great

[1] John Stanley (1714–1786), a blind musician, organist to the Society of the Inner Temple. He composed the music for Dr. Hawkesworth's oratorios, "Zimri" and "The Fall of Egypt." — ED.

[2] Benjamin West, *ætat.* 25. — ED.

Admirer of Mr. Stanley's musical Compositions, and has adapted this Piece to an Air in the 6th *Concerto* of that Gentleman, the sweetly solemn Movement of which he is quite in Raptures with. He has attempted to compose a *Recitativo* for it, but not being able to satisfy himself in the Bass, wishes I could get it supply'd. If Mr. Stanley would condescend to do that for him, thro' your Intercession, he would esteem it as one of the highest Honours, and it would make him excessively happy. You will say that a *Recitativo* can be but a poor Specimen of our Music. 'Tis the best and all I have at present, but you may see better hereafter.

I hope Mr. Ralph's Affairs are mended since you wrote. I know he had some Expectations, when I came away, from a Hand that would help him. He has Merit, and one would think ought not to be so unfortunate.

I do not wonder at the behaviour you mention of Dr. Smith towards me, for I have long since known him thoroughly. I made that Man my Enemy by doing him too much Kindness. 'Tis the honestest Way of acquiring an Enemy. And, since 'tis convenient to have at least one Enemy, who by his Readiness to revile one on all Occasions, may make one careful of one's Conduct, I shall keep him an Enemy for that purpose; and shall observe your good Mother's Advice, never again to receive him as a Friend. She once admir'd the benevolent Spirit breath'd in his Sermons. She will now see the Justness of the Lines your Laureat Whitehead addresses to his Poets, and which I now address to her.

"Full many a peevish, envious, slanderous Elf
Is, in his Works, Benevolence itself.
For all Mankind, unknown, his Bosom heaves;
He only injures those, with whom he lives.
Read then the Man; — does *Truth* his Actions guide,

Exempt from *Petulance*, exempt from *Pride?*
To social Duties does his Heart attend,
As Son, as Father, Husband, Brother, *Friend?*
Do those, who know him, love him? If they do,
You 've *my* Permission : you may love him too."

Nothing can please me more than to see your philosophical Improvements when you have Leisure to communicate them to me. I still owe you a long Letter on that Subject, which I shall pay. I am vex'd with Mr. James, that he has been so dilatory in Mr. Maddison's *Armonica*. I was unlucky in both the Workmen, that I permitted to undertake making those Instruments. The first was fanciful, and never could work to the purpose, because he was ever conceiving some new Improvement, that answer'd no End. The other I doubt is absolutely idle. I have recommended a Number to him from hence, but must stop my hand.

Adieu, my dear Polly, and believe me as ever, with the sincerest Esteem and Regard, your truly affectionate Friend and humble Servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My love to Mrs. Tickell and Mrs. Rooke, and to Pitty, when you write to her. Mrs. Franklin and Sally desire to be affectionately remember'd to you. I find the printed Poetry I intended to enclose will be too bulky to send per the Packet. I shall send it by a Ship, that goes shortly from hence.

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342. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

March 28, 1763.

I HAVE received your favours of October 20th and November 1st by my son, who is safely arrived with my new daughter.

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 291. — ED.

I thank you for your friendly congratulations on his promotion. I am just returned from a journey I made through his government, and had the pleasure of seeing him received everywhere with the utmost respect and even affection of all ranks of people. As to myself, I mentioned to you in a former letter that I found my friends here more numerous and as hearty as ever. It had been industriously reported that I had lived very extravagantly in England, and wasted a considerable sum of the public money, which I had received out of your treasury for the Province; but the Assembly, when they came to examine my accounts and allow me for my services, found themselves £2,214 10s. d. sterling in my debt, to the utter confusion of the propagators of that falsehood, and the surprise of all they had made to believe it. The House accordingly ordered that sum to be paid me, and that the Speaker should, moreover, present me with their thanks for my fidelity, etc., in transacting their affairs. I congratulate you on the glorious peace your ministry have made, the most advantageous to Britain, in my opinion of any your annals have recorded. As to the places left or restored to France, I conceive our strength will soon increase to so great a degree in North America that in any future war we may with ease redeem them all; and therefore I look upon them as so many hostages or pledges of good behaviour from that perfidious nation. Your pamphlets and papers, therefore, that are wrote against the peace with some plausibility, give me pleasure, as I hope the French will read them and be persuaded they have made an excellent bargain. . . .

343. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1]

Philadelphia, April 13, 1763.

LOVING KINSMAN,

You may remember, that about ten years since, when I was at Boston, you and my brother sent directions here to attach on Grant's right to some land here, by virtue of a mortgage given him by one Pitt. Nothing effectual could be done in it at that time, there being a prior mortgage undischarged. That prior mortgage is now near expiring, and Grant's will take place. Pitt's widow is desirous of being enabled to sell the place, which cannot be done, without paying off Grant's mortgage. Therefore, if your old demand against Grant still subsists, you may empower me in any manner you think proper to recover it.

Is Grant living? Or, if dead, are there any of his representatives among you? Inquire. Because here is a person desirous of purchasing, who perhaps may inquire them out, and get a discharge from them, before your claim is brought forward, unless the attachment formerly made in your behalf is still good, which I am inclined to think may be.

I am going in a few days to Virginia, but expect to be back in three or four weeks. However, send what you have to say on this subject to my son, at Burlington, who was formerly empowered by you, and he will take the steps necessary, if I should not be returned. I am your loving uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Jonathan Williams, a merchant residing at Boston, and engaged in the West Indian trade. He was moderator, in 1773, of the meetings at Faneuil Hall to forbid the landing of the tea. He married Grace Harris, a niece of Benjamin Franklin. This letter is printed from "Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin" (Sparks), Boston, 1833, p. 80. — ED.

344. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] June 2, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have just received your Favour of Feb. 28. being but lately returned home from Virginia. D[r] Kelly in his Letter, appears the same sensible, worthy, friendly Man I ever found him; and Smith, as usual, just his Reverse.[2] — I have done with him: For I believe no body here will prevail with me to give him another Meeting. — I communicated your Postscript to B Mecom, and receiv'd the enclos'd from him. I begin to fear things are going wrong with him; I shall be at New York in a few Days, and will endeavour to secure you as far as it may be in his Power, and will write you from Thence. My Love to good M[rs] Strahan & to your Children. I hope to live to see George a Bishop. Sally is now with her Brother in the Jerseys. M[rs] Franklin joins with me in best wishes, etc. I am, Dear Sir,

I fear my Letters to you c/o Capt. Snead never came to hand, as I hear he is taken.

Your most obedient & most humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN.

It was the Ship I came over in, the Carolina.
I wrote pretty fully to you & M[rs] Stephenson, but kept no Copies. —

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. William F. Havemeyer. — ED.

[2] Dr. Kelly, F.R.S., had written to Mr. Strahan, December 17, 1762, regarding William Smith's retraction of his calumnies concerning Franklin. — ED.

345. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

Woodbridge, New Jersey, June 10, 1763.

DEAR STRANEY: — I am here in my way to New England, where I expect to be till towards the end of summer. I have writ to you lately, and have nothing to add. 'Tis against my conscience to put you to the charge of a shilling for a letter that has nothing in it to any purpose; but as I have wrote to some of your acquaintance by this opportunity, I was afraid you would not forgive me if I did not write also to you. This is what people get by not being always as good-natured as they should be. I am glad, however that you have this fault; for a man without faults is a hateful creature. He puts all his friends out of countenance; but I love you exceedingly. I am glad to hear that Friend was dismissed and got safe with his ship to England, for I think I wrote you a long letter by him, and fear'd it was lost; tho' I have forgot what was in it, and perhaps it was not very material; but now you have it. Tell me whether George is to be a Church or Presbyterian parson.[2] I know you are a Presbyterian yourself; but then I think you have more sense than to stick him into a priesthood that admits of no promotion. If he was a dull lad it might not be amiss, but George has parts, and ought to aim at a mitre. God bless you, and farewell. If I write much more I must

[1] From John Bigelow, "Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 239. — ED.

[2] George Strahan (1744–1824) was Vicar of St. Mary's, Islington, 1773; a Prebendary of Rochester, 1805; and Rector of Kingsdown, Kent, 1820–1824. — ED.

use a cover, which will double the postage. So I prudently cut short (thank me for it) with, Dear Straney,

Your affectionate friend and hum. servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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346. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

Woodbridge, New Jersey, June 10, 1763.

I WROTE to my dear Friend's good Mama to-day, and said I should hardly have time to write to you; but, finding a spare half Hour, I will indulge myself in the Pleasure of spending it with you. I have just receiv'd your most agreable Epistle of March 11. The Ease, the Smoothness, the Purity of Diction, and Delicacy of Sentiment, that always appear in your Letters, never fail to delight me; but the tender filial Regard you constantly express for your old Friend is particularly engaging. Continue, then, to make him happy from time to time with that sweet Intercourse; and take in return all he can give you, his sincerest Wishes for you of every kind of Felicity.

I hope, that, by the Time this reaches you, an Account will arrive of your dear Pittey's safe landing in America among her Friends. Your Dolly, too, I hope, has perfectly recover'd her Health, and then nothing will remain to give you Uneasiness or Anxiety. Heaven bless you, and believe me ever, my dear Child, your affectionate Friend and humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

347. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

New York, June 16. 1763

MY DEAR CHILD,

We left Woodbridge on Tuesday Morning and went to Eliz. Town, where I found our Children return'd from the Falls, & very well: The Corporation were to have a Dinner that day at the Point for their Entertainment, and prevail'd on us to stay. There was all the principal People & a great many Ladies: after Dinner we set out, & got here before dark. We waited on the Governor & on Gen[l] Amherst yesterday; din'd with Lord Sterling; went in the Evening to my old Friend Mr. Kennedy's Funeral; and are to dine with the General to-day. Mr. Hughes and Daughter are well, & Betsey Holt. I have not yet seen B. Mecom, but shall to-day. I am very well.

I purpose to take Sally at all Events, & write for her to-day to be ready to go in the Packet that sails next Friday Week. If there is no other suitable Company, Mr. Parker will go with her & take care of her. I am glad you sent some Wax Candles with the Things to Boston. I am now so us'd to it, I cannot well do without it. You spent your Sunday very well, but I think you should go oftner to Church. I approve of your opening all my English Letters, as it must give you Pleasure to see that People who knew me there so long and so intimately, retain so sincere a Regard for me.

My Love to Mr. Rhoads when you see him, and desire he would send me an Invoice of such Locks, Hinges, and the like as cannot be had at Philadelphia, and will be necessary

for my House, that I may send for them. Let me know from time to time how it goes on. Mr. Foxcroft and Mr. Parker join in Compliments to you and Cousin Lizzey. Mr. F —— prays his Mamma to forgive him, and he will be a better Boy. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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348. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN [1]

New York, June 28. 1763.

DEAR FRIEND: — You will hear before this reaches you that the Indians have renewed their hostilities. They have not as usual made any previous complaint, and various conjectures are therefore made of the cause. Some think it is merely to secure their hunting countries, which they apprehend we mean to take from them by force and turn them into plantations, though the apprehension is without ground; others, that too little notice of them has been taken since the reduction of Canada, no presents made them as before; others, that they are offended at the prohibition of selling them rum or powder, but I do not find this prohibition has been general, and as to powder, that enough has been allowed them all for their hunting; others, that they acquired a relish for plunder in the late war, and would again enjoy the sweets of it; others, that it is the effect of a large belt sent among them by the French commander in the Illinois country before he heard of the peace, to excite them to renew the war and assure them of supplies and assistance;

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 293. — ED.

others, think all these causes may have operated together. The nations chiefly concerned are said to be the Ottawas and Chippewas, who live west of and north of the Lakes, and the Delawares on the Ohio, but some other nations who have not yet appeared are suspected privily to encourage them. It is, however, a war that I think cannot last long, though for the present very mischievous to the poor settlers on the frontiers.

I expected when I left England to have learnt in your letters the true state of things from time to time among you; but you are silent and I am in the dark. I hear that faction and sedition are becoming universal among you, which I can scarcely believe, though I see in your public papers a licentiousness that amazes me. I hear of ins and outs and ups and downs, and know neither why nor wherefore. Think, my dear friend, how much satisfaction it is in your power to give me, with a loss only of half an hour in a month that you would otherwise spend at cribbage. I left our friend David and his family well. I hope this will find you so. I am here on my journey to New England, whence I hope to return in about two months. Sally goes with me. Billy and his wife came over here last night from the Jerseys to spend a few days with their friends at New York, so that we are all together at present, except my wife, and all join in best wishes for you and good Mrs. Strahan and your children. I wrote to you by the last packet, and can now only add that I am, with sincerest esteem and affection, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

349. TO WILLIAM GREENE [1]

DEAR SIR, Providence, July 19, 1763.

From the very hospitable and kind treatment we met with at your house, I must think it will be agreeable to you to hear, that your guests got well in before the rain. We hope that you and Mrs. Greene were likewise safe at home before night, and found all well. We all join in the most cordial thanks and best wishes, and shall be glad on every occasion to hear of the welfare of you and yours. I beg you will present our compliments to your good neighbour, Captain Fry, and tell him we shall always retain a grateful remembrance of his civilities.

The soreness in my breast seems to diminish hourly. To rest and temperance I ascribe it chiefly, though the bleeding had doubtless some share in the effect. We purpose setting out to go to Wrentham this afternoon, in order to make an easy day's journey into Boston to-morrow. Present our respects to Mrs. Ray, and believe me, with much esteem, dear Sir, your obliged and most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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350. TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE [2]

DEAR FRIEND Boston, Aug. 1, 1763.

I ought to acquaint you that I feel myself growing daily firmer & freer from the effects of my Fall; and hope a few

[1] At Warwick, Rhode Island. This letter was first printed by Sparks, in "Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin," Boston, 1833, p. 84. — ED.

[2] From the *Rhode Island Mercury*, April 10, 1896.

Days more will make me quite forget it. I shall however never forget the kindness I met with at your House on that Occasion. Make my Compliments acceptable to your Mr. Greene; and let him know that I acknowledge the Receipt of his obliging Letter and thank him for it. It gave me great Pleasure to hear you got home before the Rain.

My Compliments too to Mr. Merchant and Miss Ward if they are still with you; and kiss the Babies for me. Sally says, & *for me too:* — She adds her best Respects to Mr. Greene, & you and that she could have spent a Week with you with great Pleasure, if I had not hurried her away. My Brother is return'd to Rhode island. Sister Mecom thanks you for your kind remembrance of her & presents her Respects.

With perfect Esteem & Regard, I am, Dear Katy (I can't yet alter my Stile to Madam)

Your affectionate Friend

B. FRANKLIN

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351. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

Boston, August 8, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND:—I have received here your favour of May 3d, and postscript of May 10th, and thank you cordially for the sketch you give me of the present state of your political affairs. If the stupid, brutal opposition your good king and his measures have lately met with, should as you fear, become general, surely you would not wish me to come and live among such

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 294. — ED.

people; you would rather remove hither, where we have no savages but those we expect to be such. But I think your madmen will ere long come to their senses; and when I come I shall find you generally wise and happy. That I have not the propensity to sitting still that you apprehend, let my present journey witness for me; in which I have already travelled eleven hundred and forty miles on this continent since April, and shall make six hundred and forty more before I see home. No friend can wish me more in England than I do myself. But before I go every thing I am concerned in must be so settled here as to make another return to America unnecessary. My love to every one of your dear family, of whose welfare I always rejoice to hear; being with the greatest esteem and affection, dear sir, yours sincerely, B. FRANKLIN.

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352. TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE[1]

Boston, September 5, 1763.

DEAR FRIEND,

On my returning hither from Portsmouth, I find your obliging favour of the 18th past, for which I thank you. I am almost ashamed to tell you, that I have had another fall, and put my shoulder out. It is well reduced again, but is still affected with constant, though not very acute pain. I am not yet able to travel rough roads, and must lie by awhile, as I can neither hold reins nor whip with my right hand till it grows stronger.

[1] From "The Familiar Letters of Benjamin Franklin," Boston, 1833, p. 86. — ED.

Do you think, after this, that even your kindest invitations and Mr. Greene's can prevail with me to venture myself again on such roads? And yet it would be a great pleasure to me to see you and yours once more. Sally and my sister Mecom thank you for your remembrance of them, and present their affectionate regards. My best respects to good Mr. Greene, Mrs. Ray, and love to your little ones. I am glad to hear they are well, and that your Celia goes alone. I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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353. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (P. C.)

Boston, Sept. 22, 1763

DEAR FRIEND: I write in pain with an Arm lately dislocated, so can only acknowledge the Receipt of your Favours of May 3 and 10, & thank you for the Intelligence they contain concerning your publick Affairs. I am now 400 miles from home, but hope to be there again in about 3 weeks. The Indian War upon our Western Settlements was undoubtedly stirr'd up by the French on the Missisipi, before they had heard of the Peace between the two Nations; and will probably cease when we are in Possession of what is there ceded to us. My Respects to Mrs. Strahan and Love to your Children. I am, dear Friend, very affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. E. B. Holden. — ED.

354. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] Nov. 28, 1763

LOVING KINSMAN,

I receiv'd yours acquainting me that the Chair is shipt. It is not yet come to hand, but the Armonica is arrived safe, not a glaſs hurt. I am much obliged by your Care of my little Affairs. —The Houſe, when repair'd, I would have you let to as good a Tenant and for as good a Rent as you can well get — and let me have the Account of Repairs, that it may be adjusted as ſoon as poſsible.

My Wife & Daughter join in Love to you & yours, with

Your affectionate uncle

B FRANKLIN

M[r] Foxcroft's Compliments

I am deſired by him to add. —

It is farther my Deſire & Direction, that the Rent of the Houſe be applied to aſsist my Sister Mecom in the Maintenance of her unhappy Son, and I request you to pay it to her for that purpose as it ariſes.

B. FRANKLIN

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355. TO SIR ALEXANDER DICK (L. L.)

Philad[a] Dec. 11, 1763.

DEAR SIR

I take the Opportunity of a Ship from this Place to Leith, once more to pay my Respects to my good Friend from this

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. E. B. Holden. — ED.

side the Water, and to assure him that neither Time nor Distance have in the least weakened the Impression on my Mind, stampt there by his Kindness to me and my Son, while we were in Scotland. When I saw him last, we talk'd over the pleasant Hours we spent at Prestonfield, and he desired me, whenever I should write, to join with mine his best Respects to you and to Lady Dick, your amiable Daughter & the rest of your domestic Circle. — He is very happy in his Government as well as in his Marriage. —

My Daughter has been endeavouring to collect some of the Music of this Country Production, to send Miss. Dick, in Return for her most acceptable present of Scotch Songs. But Music is a new Art with us. She has only obtain'd a few Airs adapted by a young Gentleman of our Acquaintance to some old Songs, which she now desires me to enclose, and to repeat her Thanks for the Scotch Music with which we are all much delighted. She sings the Songs to her Harpsichord, and I play some of the softest Tunes on my Armonica, with which Entertainment our People here are quite charmed, and conceive the Scottish Tunes to be the finest in the World. And indeed, there is so much simple Beauty in many of them, that it is my Opinion they will never die, but in all Ages find a Number of Admirers among those whose Taste is not debauch'd by Art.

I expected before this Time some of yours and Dr Hope's botanical Orders to execute, which I shall do with great Pleasure whenever they come to hand. —

Be pleased to present my Respects to our Friends the Russels, when you see them; to the two Doctors Monro, Dr Cullen, Dr Clark, M M'Gawen, and any others who may do me the Honour to enquire after me, not forgetting

Pythagoras, who, from his Temperance I conclude is still living and well. I send him the Picture of a Brother Philosopher in this Country. — And withal I send you a Piece of our American Husbandry, which will show you something of the State of Agriculture among us; — and a Book of our Poetry too, which from so remote a Country may probably be esteem'd some Curiosity if it has no other Merit.

With the sincerest Esteem & Affection, I am,

Dear Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN

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356. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (P. C.)

DEAR STRANEY Philad[a] Dec. 19, 1763.

I have before me your Favours of July 16 and Aug[t] 18 which is the latest. It vexes me excessively to see that Parker and Mecom are so much in Arrear with you. What is due from Parker is safe, and will be paid I think with Interest; for he is a Man as honest as he is industrious, and frugal, and has withal some Estate; his Backwardness has been owing to his bad Partners only, of whom he is now nearly quit. But as to Mecom, he seems so dejected and spiritless that I fear little will be got of him. He has dropt his Paper on which he built his last Hopes. I doubt I shall lose £200 by him myself but am taking Steps to save what I can for you; of which more fully in my next.

Now I am return'd from my long Journeys which have consum'd the whole Summer, I shall apply Myself to such

[1] From the original in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. — ED.

a Settlement of all my Affairs, as will enable me to do what your Friendship so warmly urges. I have a great Opinion of your Wisdom (Madeira apart) and am apt enough to think that what you seem so clear in, and are so earnest about, must be right. Tho' I own that I sometimes suspect my Love to England and my Friends there, seduces me a little, and makes *my own* middling Reasons for going over, appear very good ones. We shall see in a little Time how Things will turn out. Blessings on your Heart for the Feast of Politicks you gave me in your last. I could by no other means have obtain'd so clear a View of the present State of your public Affairs as by your Letter. Most of your Observations appear to me extreamly judicious, strikingly clear and true. I only differ from you in some of the melancholy Apprehensions you express concerning Consequences; and to comfort you (at the same time flattering my own Vanity) let me remind you that I have sometimes been in the right in such Cases, when you happen'd to be in the wrong; as I can prove upon you out of this very Letter of yours. Call to mind your former Fears for the King of Prussia, and remember my telling you that the Man's Abilities were more than equal to all the Force of his Enemies, and that he would finally extricate himself and triumph. This by the Account you give me from Major Beckwith, is fully verified. You now fear for our virtuous young King, that the Faction forming will overpower him and render his Reign uncomfortable. On the contrary, I am of Opinion that his Virtue and the Consciousness of his sincere Intentions to make his People happy will give him Firmness and Steadiness in his Measures and in the Support of the honest Friends he has chosen to serve him; and when

that Firmness is fully perceiv'd, Faction will dissolve and be dissipated like a Morning Fog before the rising Sun, leaving the rest of the Day clear with a Sky serene and cloudless. Such after a few of the first Years will be the future course of his Majesty's Reign, which I predict will be happy and truly glorious. Your Fears for the Nation, too, appear to me as little founded. A new War I cannot yet see Reason to apprehend. The Peace I think will long continue, and your Nation be as happy as they deserve to be, that is, as happy as their moderate Share of Virtue will allow them to be: Happier than that no outward Circumstances can make a Nation any more than a private Man. And as to their Quantity of Virtue I think it bids fair for Increasing; if the old Saying be true, as it certainly is,

Ad exemplar Regis, etc.

My Love to Mrs. Strahan and your Children in which my Wife and Daughter join, with

Your ever affectionate Friend

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. The Western Indians about Fort Detroit now sue for Peace, having lost a great Number of their best Warriors in their vain Attempt to reduce that Fortress; and being at length assur'd by a Belt from the French Commander in the Ilinois Country, that a Peace is concluded between England and France, that he must evacuate the Country and deliver up his Forts, and can no longer supply or support them. It is thought this will draw on a general Peace. I am only afraid it will be concluded before these Barbarians have sufficiently smarted for their perfidious breaking the last.

The Governor of Detroit, Major Gladwin, has granted them a Cessation of Arms till the General's Pleasure is known.

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357. TO SIR FRANCIS BERNARD[1] (B. M.)

Philadelphia, January 11, 1764.

SIR: — Having heard nothing from Virginia concerning your Son, I have at length thought the best & surest Way of bringing him safely here, will be to send from hence a sober, trusty Person to conduct him up, who will attend him on the Road, etc. I have accordingly this Day agreed with Mr Ennis, a very discreet Man, to make the Journey, who sets out to-morrow Morning. I shall send with him my own Horse for Mr Bernard, and Money to bear his expences, with a Letter to Mr. Johnson, engaging to pay any Acc't he may have against your Son, or any reasonable Debts he may have contracted there. I hope this will be agreable to you, & answer the End. I am, with sincere respect, your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

[Endorsed Jan. 21. 1764.]

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358. TO ANTHONY TODD[2]

Philadelphia, January 16. 1764.

SIR: — In my last I wrote you that Mr. Foxcroft, my colleague, was gone to Virginia, where, and in Maryland,

[1] B. M. Add., MSS., 12,099. Sir Francis Bernard (1711–1779), governor of New Jersey in 1758; transferred to Massachusetts Bay in 1760. — ED.

[2] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. X, p. 297. A. Todd was secretary of the general post office. — ED.

some offices are yet unsettled. We are to meet again in April at Annapolis, and then shall send you a full account of our doings. I will now only just mention that we hope in the spring to expedite the communication between Boston and New York, as we have already that between New York and Philadelphia, by making the mails travel by night as well as by day, which has never heretofore been done in America. It passes now between Philadelphia and New York so quick that a letter can be sent from one place to another, and an answer received the day following, which before took a week, and when our plan is executed between Boston and New York, letters may be sent and answers received in four days, which before took a fortnight; and between Philadelphia and Boston in six days, which before required three weeks. We think this expeditious communication will greatly increase the number of letters from Philadelphia and Boston by the packets to Britain.

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359. TO MRS. CATHERINE GREENE[1]

Philadelphia, February 15, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me your most acceptable favour of December 24th. Publick business and our publick confusions have so taken up my attention, that I suspect I did not answer it when I received it, but am really not certain; so, to make sure, I write this line to acknowledge the receiving of it, and to thank you for it. I condole with you on the death of the

[1] From "The Familiar Letters of Benjamin Franklin," Boston, 1833, p. 88. — ED.

good old lady, your mother. Separations of this kind from those we love are grievous; but it is the will of God, that such should be the nature of things in this world. All that ever were born are either dead, or must die. It becomes us to submit, and to comfort ourselves with the hope of a better life and more happy meeting hereafter.

Sally kept to her horse the greatest part of the journey, and was much pleased with the tour. She often remembers, with pleasure and gratitude, the kindnesses she met with, and received from our friends everywhere, and particularly at your house. She talks of writing by this post; and my dame sends her love to you, and thanks for the care you took of her old man, but, having bad spectacles, cannot write at present.

Mr. Kent's compliment is a very extraordinary one, as he was obliged to kill himself and two others in order to make it; but, being killed in imagination only, they and he are all yet alive and well, thanks to God, and I hope will continue so as long as, dear Katy, your affectionate friend,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. My best respects to Mr. Greene, and love to "the little dear creatures." I believe the instructions relating to the post-office have been sent to Mr. Rufus Greene.

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360. TO MISS MARY STEVENSON[1] (P. C.)

DEAR POLLY, Philad[a] March 14, 1764.

I have received your kind Letters of Aug[t] 30 and Nov. 16. Please to return my Thanks, with those of my Friend, to

[1] From the original in the possession of T. Hewson Bradford, M.D. — ED.

Mr. Stanley for his Favour in the Musick, which gives great Satisfaction. I am glad to hear of the Welfare of the Blunt Family, and the Addition it has lately received; and particularly that your Dolly's Health is mended. Present my best Respects to them, and to the good Dr. and Mrs. Hawkesworth, when you see them.

I believe you were right in dissuading your good Mother from coming hither. The Proposal was a hasty Thought of mine, in which I consider'd only some Profit she might make by the Adventure, and the Pleasure to me and my Family from the Visit; but forgot poor Polly, and what her Feelings must be on the Occasion, and perhaps did not sufficiently reflect, that the Inconveniencies of such a Voyage, to a Person of her Years and Sex, must be more than the Advantages could compensate.

I am sincerely concern'd to hear of Mrs. Rooke's long-continued Affliction with that cruel Gout. My best Wishes attend her and good Mrs. Tickell. Let me hear from you as often as you can afford it. You can scarce conceive the Pleasure your Letters give me. Blessings on his Soul, that first invented Writing, without which, I should, at this Distance, be as effectually cut off from my Friends in England, as the Dead are from the Living. But I write so little, that I can have no Claim to much from you. Business, publick and private, devours all my Time. I must return to England for Repose. With such Thoughts I flatter myself, and need some kind Friend to put me often in mind, that *old Trees cannot safely be transplanted.*

Adieu, my amiable Friend, and believe me ever yours most affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

361. TO JOHN CANTON[1] (R. S.)

Philad[a] Mar. 14, 1764.

DEAR SIR,

When I left London, I promis'd myself the Pleasure of a regular Correspondence with you and some others of the ingenious Gentlemen that compos'd our Club. But after so long an Absence from my Family and Affairs, I found, as you will easily conceive, so much Occupation, that philosophical Matters could not be attended to, and my last Summer was almost wholly taken up in long Journeys. I am now a little better settled, and take the Liberty of Beginning that Commerce of Letters with you, in which I am sure to be the Gainer.

I have little that is new at present to offer you. I have made no Experiments myself. Mr. Kinnersley has shewn me one, that I think is mention'd in a Letter of his to me, which I left in London, and it is a beautiful one to see. By a stroke from his Case of Bottles pass'd thro' a fine Iron Wire, the Wire appears first red hot, and then falls in Drops, which burn themselves into the Surface of the Table or Floor. The Drops cool round like very small Shot. I enclose some of them. This proves that the Fusion of Iron by a Stroke of Lightning may be a hot and not a cold Fusion as we formerly suppos'd, and is agreable to the Acc[t] published some Years since in the Transactions, of the Effects of Lightning on a Bell Wire in Southwark.

[1] From the original in the Library of the Royal Society ("Canton Papers"). John Canton (1718–1772), electrician, was elected F.R.S. March 22, 1749. He was the first successfully to repeat in England the experiments of Franklin. — ED.

Mr. Kinnersley told me of a much stranger Experiment, to wit, that when he had sometimes electrify'd the Air in his Room, he open'd the Windows and Doors, and suffer'd the Wind to blow through, which made no Alteration in the electric state of the Room tho' the whole Air must have been changed; That he had even try'd the same abroad in the open Air on a windy Day, and found the Electricity remain'd long after the Operation, tho' the Air first electrify'd must have been all driven away. This surpris'd me, as it seem'd to indicate that some fix'd Medium subsisted between the Particles of Air, thro' which Medium they might pass as Sand can thro' Water; and that such fix'd Medium was capable of Electrisation. I went to see it, but had however my Doubts that there might be some Deception in the Experiment; and tho' at first it seem'd to succeed astonishingly, I afterwards found what I thought might occasion the Deception. As your little Balls, which were us'd to discover the Electricity by their Separation, would be too much disturb'd by the Wind when it blow'd fresh, Mr. Kinnersley had put them into a Phial, suspended from the bottom of the Cork. They were as easily affected there, by any Electricity in the outward Air as if they had not been enclos'd; but I suspect that the Glass receives some Degree of Electricity from the electris'd Air, and so kept the Balls separated after the electris'd Air was blown away. I think Mr. Kinnersley was not quite satisfy'd with that Solution of the Phenomenon. I wish you would try it when you have Leisure, and let me know the Result.

An ingenious Gentleman in Boston,[1] who is a friend of mine, desired me when there last Summer, to recommend a

[1] James Bowdoin. — ED.

good Instrumentmaker to him, to make a Pedestal of a new Construction for his Reflecting Telescope. I accordingly recommended our Friend Nairne; but as it was a new Thing to Mr. Nairne, it might be well for preventing Mistakes, to get some Gentleman accustomed to the Use of Telescopes in Astronomical Observations, to inspect the Execution; and I took the Liberty to mention you, as one who would be good enough to take that Trouble if he requested it. I find he has accordingly wrote to you and sent his Telescope. If it may not be too much Trouble, I hope you will oblige him in it, and I shall take it as a Favour to me. I send you enclos'd a second Letter of his. The Charge of Postage that you pay should be put into his Account. I have no Improvement to propose. The Whole is submitted to you.

Please to present my respectful Compliments to Lord Charles Cavendish & Mr. Cavendish when you see them, to whom I am much oblig'd for their Civilities to me when I was in England. Also to Mr. Price, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Rose, and the rest of that happy company with whom I pass'd so many agreable Evenings that I shall always think of with Pleasure. My best Respects to Mrs. Canton, and believe me, with sincere Regard,

Dear Sir, your most obedient
& most humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN

362. TO JOHN FOTHERGILL, M.D.[1]

March 14, 1764.

DEAR DOCTOR, — I received your favour of the 10th of December. It was a great deal for one to write whose time was so little his own. By the way, when do you intend to live? — *i.e.*, to enjoy life. When will you retire to your villa, give yourself repose, delight in viewing the operations of nature in the vegetable creation, assist her in her works, get your ingenious friends at times about you, make them happy with your conversation, and enjoy theirs: or, if alone, amuse yourself with your books and elegant collections?

To be hurried about perpetually from one sick chamber to another is not living. Do you please yourself with the fancy that you are doing good? You are mistaken. Half the lives you save are not worth saving, as being useless, and almost all the other half ought not to be saved, as being mischievous. Does your conscience never hint to you the impiety of being in constant warfare against the plans of Providence? Disease was intended as the punishment of intemperence, sloth, and other vices, and the example of that punishment was intended to promote and strengthen the opposite virtues. But here you step in officiously with your Art, disappoint those wise intentions of nature, and make men safe in their excesses, whereby you seem to me to be of just the same service to society as some favourite first minister who out of the great benevolence of his heart

[1] From "The Life of Benjamin Franklin," Bigelow, 5th ed., 1905, Vol. I, p. 452[a]. The original is in the possession of Mr. John Henry Gurney, of Keswick Hall, Norwich. — ED.

should procure pardons of all criminals that applied to him; only think of the consequences.

You tell me the Quakers are charged on your side of the water with being, by their aggressions, the cause of the war. Would you believe it that they are charged here, not with offending the Indians and thereby provoking the war, but with gaining their friendship by presents, supplying them privately with arms and ammunition, and engaging them to fall upon and murder the poor white people on the frontiers? Would you think it possible that thousands even here should be made to believe this, and many hundreds of them be raised in arms, not only to kill some converted Indians, supposed to be under the Quakers' protection, but to punish the Quakers who were supposed to give that protection? Would you think these people audacious enough to avow such designs in a public declaration, sent to the Governor? Would you imagine that innocent Quakers, men of fortune and character, should think it necessary to fly for safety out of Philadelphia into the Jersies, fearing the violence of such armed mobs, and confiding little in the power or inclination of the government to protect them? And would you imagine that strong suspicions now prevail that those mobs, after committing so barbarous murders hitherto unpunished, are privately tampered with to be made instruments of government to awe the Assembly into proprietary measures? And yet all this has happened within a few weeks past.

More wonders. You know that I don't love the proprietary and that he does not love me. Our totally different tempers forbid it. You might therefore expect that the late new appointments of one of his family would find me ready for opposition. And yet when his nephew arrived, our

Governor, I considered government as government, and paid him all respect, gave him on all occasions my best advice, promoted in the Assembly a ready compliance with every thing he proposed or recommended, and when those daring rioters, encouraged by general approbation of the populace, treated his proclamation with contempt, I drew my pen in the cause; wrote a pamphlet (that I have sent you) to render the rioters unpopular; promoted an association to support the authority of the Government and defend the Governor by taking arms, signed it first myself and was followed by several hundreds, who took arms accordingly. The Governor offered me the command of them, but I chose to carry a musket and strengthen his authority by setting an example of obedience to his order. And would you think it, this proprietary Governor did me the honour, in an alarm, to run to my house at midnight, with his counsellors at his heels, for advice, and made it his head-quarters for some time. And within four and twenty hours, your old friend was a common soldier, a counsellor, a kind of dictator, an ambassador to the country mob, and on his returning home, nobody again. All this has happened in a few weeks.

More wonders! The Assembly received a Governor of the Proprietary family with open arms, addressed him with sincere expressions of kindness and respect, opened their purses to them, and presented him with six hundred pounds; made a Riot Act and prepared a Militia Bill immediately, at his instance, granted supplies, and did everything that he requested, and promised themselves great happiness under his administration. But suddenly his dropping all inquiries after the murderers, and his answering the disputes of the

rioters privately and refusing the presence of the Assembly who were equally concerned in the matters contained in their remonstrance, brings him under suspicion; his insulting the Assembly without the least provocation by charging them with disloyalty and with making an infringement on the King's prerogatives, only because they had presumed to name in a bill offered for his assent a trifling officer (somewhat like one of your toll-gatherers at a turnpike) without consulting him, and his refusing several of their bills or proposing amendments needless disgusting.

These things bring him and his government into sudden contempt. All regard for him in the Assembly is lost. All hopes of happiness under a Proprietary Government are at an end. It has now scarce authority enough to keep the common peace, and was another to come, I question, though a dozen men were sufficient, whether one could find so many in Philadelphia willing to rescue him or his Attorney General, I won't say from hanging, but from any common insult. All this too happened in a few weeks.

In fine, everything seems in this country, once the land of peace and order, to be running fast into anarchy and confusion. But we hope there is virtue enough in your great nation to support a good Prince in the execution of a good government and the exercise of his just prerogatives against all the attempts of unreasonable faction. I have been already too long. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

363. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1]

Philadelphia, March 30, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND: — I begin to think it long since I had the pleasure of hearing from you.

Enclosed is one of our last Gazettes, in which you will see that our dissensions are broke out again, more violently than ever. Such a necklace of Resolves! and all *nemine contradicente*, I believe you have seldom seen. If you can find room for them and our messages in the *Chronicle* (but perhaps 'tis too much to ask), I should be glad to have them there; as it may prepare the minds of those in power for an application that I believe will shortly be made from this Province to the crown, to take the government into its own hands. They talk of sending me over with it, but it will be too soon for me. At least I think so at present. Adieu, my dear Friend, and believe me ever

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. — My love to my young Wife, and to Mrs. Strahan, Rachey, Billy, &c., &c. In your next tell me how you all do, and don't oblige me to come and see before I am quite ready.

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 246. — ED.

364. COOL THOUGHTS

ON THE

PRESENT SITUATION

OF OUR

PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN THE COUNTRY.

Philadelphia: Printed by W. Dunlap
MDCCLXIV.

Dr. Franklin returned from his first mission to England in 1762, having accomplished the object for which he was sent out. It was decided, that the proprietary estates in Pennsylvania should be taxed in due proportion for the defence of the colony. Thus was taken away a source of contention, which had embroiled the assembly and governors for many years. Other difficulties, however, soon after arose, in consequence of the opposition of the governor to the wishes of the assembly. The disputes grew every day more warm, and the discontents became general throughout the province. In this state of things, it was proposed to petition the King to take the government of the colony into his own hands, after making a proper remuneration to the proprietaries; or, in other words, to convert the Proprietary Government into a Royal Government. The following piece was written in defence of this measure. — S.

Philadelphia, April 12, 1764.

SIR,

Your Apology was unnecessary. It will be no *Trouble*, but a *Pleasure*, if I can give you the Satisfaction you desire. I shall therefore immediately communicate to you my Motives for approving the Proposal of endeavouring to obtain a

Royal Government, in Exchange for this of the Proprietaries; with such Answers to the Objections you mention, as, in my Opinion, fully obviate them.

I do not purpose entering into the Merits of the Disputes between the Proprietaries and the People. I only observe it as a Fact known to us all, that such Disputes there are, and that they have long subsisted, greatly to the Prejudice of the Province, clogging and embarrassing all the Wheels of Government, and exceedingly obstructing the publick Defence, and the Measures wisely concerted by our Gracious Sovereign, for the common Security of the Colonies. I may add it as another Fact, that *we are all heartily tired of these Disputes.*

It is very remarkable, that Disputes of the same Kind have arisen in *All* Proprietary Governments, and subsisted till their Dissolution; All were made unhappy by them, and found no Relief but in recurring finally to the immediate Government of the Crown. *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, are the only Two of the Kind remaining, and both at this Instant agitated by the same Contentions between Proprietary Interest and Power, and Popular Liberty. Thro' these Contentions the good People of that Province are rendered equally unhappy with ourselves, and their Proprietary, perhaps, more so than our's; for he has no *Quakers* in his Assembly to saddle with the Blame of those Contentions, nor can he justify himself with the Pretence, that turning to the Church has made his People his Enemies.

Pennsylvania had scarce been settled Twenty Years, when these Disputes began between the first Proprietor and the original Settlers; they continued, with some Intermissions, during his whole Life; his Widow took them up, and con-

tinued them after his Death. Her Sons resum'd them very early,[1] and they still subsist. Mischievous and distressing as they have been found to both Proprietors and People, it does not appear that there is any Prospect of their being extinguish'd, till either the Proprietary Purse is unable to support them, or the Spirit of the People so broken, that they shall be willing to submit to any Thing, rather than continue them. The first is not very likely to happen, as that immense Estate goes on increasing.

Considering all Circumstances, I am at length inclin'd to think, that the Cause of these miserable Contentions is not to be sought for merely in the Depravity and Selfishness of human Minds. For tho' it is not unlikely that in these, as well as in other Disputes, there are *Faults on both Sides*, every glowing Coal being apt to inflame its Opposite; yet I see no Reason to suppose that all Proprietary Rulers are worse Men than other Rulers, nor that all People in Proprietary Governments are worse People than those in other Governments. I suspect therefore, that the Cause is radical, interwoven in the Constitution, and so become of the very Nature, of Proprietary Governments; and will therefore produce its Effects, as long as such Governments continue. And, as some Physicians say, every Animal Body brings into the World among its original Stamina the Seeds of that Disease that shall finally produce its Dissolution; so the Political Body of a Proprietary Government, contains those convulsive Principles that will at length destroy it.

I may not be Philosopher enough to develop those Principles, nor would this Letter afford me Room, if I had Abili-

[1] See their Message to the Assembly, in which the Right of sitting on their own Adjournments is denied. — F.

ties, for such a Discussion. The *Fact* seems sufficient for our Purpose, and the *Fact* is notorious, that such Contentions have been in all Proprietary Governments, and have brought, or are now bringing, them all to a Conclusion. I will only mention one Particular common to them all. Proprietaries must have a Multitude of private Accounts and Dealings with almost all the People of their Provinces, either for Purchase money or Quit-rents. Dealings often occasion Differences, and Differences produce mutual Opinions of Injustice. If Proprietaries do not insist on small Rights, they must on the Whole lose large Sums; and if they do insist on small Rights, they seem to descend, their Dignity suffers in the Opinion of the People, and with it the Respect necessary to keep up the Authority of Government. The People, who think themselves injured in Point of Property, are discontented with the Government, and grow turbulent; and the Proprietaries using their Powers of Government to procure for themselves what they think Justice in their Points of Property, renders those Powers odious. I suspect this has had no small Share in producing the Confusions incident to those Governments. They appear, however, to be, *of all others*, the most unhappy.

At present we are in a wretched Situation. The Government that ought to keep all in Order, is itself weak, and has scarce Authority enough to keep the common Peace. Mobs assemble and kill (we scarce dare say *murder*) Numbers of innocent People in cold Blood, who were under the Protection of the Government. Proclamations are issued to bring the Rioters to Justice. Those Proclamations are treated with the utmost Indignity and Contempt. Not a Magistrate dares wag a Finger towards discovering or apprehending the

Delinquents, (we must not call them *Murderers*.) They assemble again, and with Arms in their Hands approach the Capital. The Government truckles, condescends to cajole them, and drops all Prosecution of their Crimes; whilst honest Citizens, threatened in their Lives and Fortunes, flie the Province, as having no Confidence in the Publick Protection. We are daily threatened with more of these Tumults; and the Government, which in its Distress call'd aloud on the sober Inhabitants to come with Arms to its Assistance, now sees those who afforded that Assistance daily libell'd, abus'd, and menac'd by its Partizans for so doing; whence it has little Reason to expect such Assistance on another Occasion: —

In this Situation, what is to be done? By what Means is that Harmony between the two Branches of Government to be obtain'd, without which the internal Peace of the Province cannot be well secured? One Project is, to turn all *Quakers* out of the Assembly; or, by obtaining more Members for the Back Counties, to get a Majority in, who are not *Quakers*. This, perhaps, is not very difficult to do; and more Members for those Counties may, on other Accounts, be proper; but I much question if it would answer this End, as I see among the Members, that those who are not *Quakers*, and even those from the Back Counties, are as hearty and unanimous in opposing what they think Proprietary Injustice, as the *Quakers* themselves, if not more so. Religion has happily nothing to do with our present Differences, tho' great Pains is taken to lug it into the Squabble. And even were the *Quakers* extirpated, I doubt whether the Proprietaries, while they pursue the same Measures, would be a Whit more at their Ease.

Another Project is, to chuse none for Assembly-men but such as are Friends to the Proprietaries. The Number of Members is not so great, but that I believe this Scheme may be practicable, if you look for Representatives among Proprietary Officers and Dependants. Undoubtedly it would produce great Harmony between Governor and Assembly: But how would both of them agree with the People? Their Principles and Conduct must greatly change, if they would be elected a second Year. But that might be needless. Six Parts in Seven agreeing with the Governor, could make the House perpetual. This, however, would not probably establish Peace in the Province. The Quarrel the People now have with the Proprietaries, would then be with both the Proprietaries and Assembly. There seems to remain, then, but one Remedy for our Evils, a Remedy approved by Experience, and which has been tried with Success by other Provinces; I mean that of an immediate *Royal Government*, without the Intervention of Proprietary Powers, which, like unnecessary Springs and Movements in a Machine are so apt to produce Disorder.

It is not to be expected that the Proposal of a Change like this, should meet with no Objections. Those you have mention'd to me concerning Liberty of Conscience and the Privileges of Dissenters, are, however, not difficult to answer; as they seem to arise merely from want of Information, or Acquaintance with the State of other Colonies, before and after such Changes had been made in their Government. *Carolina* and the *Jerseys*, were formerly Proprietary Governments, but now immediately under the Crown; and their Cases had many Circumstances similar to ours. Of the First we are told,

"There was a natural Infirmity in the Policy of their Charter, which was the Source of many of the Misfortunes of the Colony, without any Imputation on the noble Families concern'd. For the Grantees [the Proprietors] being eight in Number, and not incorporated, and no Provision being made to conclude the whole Number by the Voices of the Majority, there could not be timely Measures always agreed on, which were proper or necessary for the good Government of the Plantation. In the mean Time the Inhabitants grew unruly and quarrelled about Religion and Politicks; and while there was a mere Anarchy among them, they were expos'd to the Attacks and Insults of their *Spanish* and *Indian* Neighbours, whom they had imprudently provok'd and injur'd; and as if they had conspir'd against the Growth of the Colony, they repealed their Laws for Liberty of Conscience, though the Majority of the People were Dissenters, and had resorted thither under the publick Faith for a compleat Indulgence, which they considered as Part of their *Magna Charta*. Within these four Years an End was put to their Sorrows; for about that Time, the Lords Proprietors and the Planters, (who had long been heartily tir'd of each other) were, by the Interposition of the Legislature, fairly divorced for ever, and the Property of the Whole vested in the Crown."[1] And the above-mention'd injudicious and unjust Act, against the Privileges of Dissenters, was repeal'd by the King in Council.

Another Historian tells us, "Their intestine Distractions, and their foreign Wars, kept the Colony so low, that an Act of Parliament, if possible to prevent the last ruinous Consequences of these Divisions, put the

[1] "New and Accurate Account of Carolina," p. 14; printed at London, 1733.—F.

Province under the immediate Care and Inspection of the Crown." [1]

And Governor Johnson, at his first meeting the Assembly there, after the Change, tells them,

"His Majesty, out of his great Goodness and Fatherly Care of you, and at the earnest Request and Solicitation of yourselves, has been graciously pleased, at a great Expence, to purchase seven Eighths of the late Lords Proprietaries Charter, whereby you are become under his immediate Government; a Blessing and Security we have been *long praying for*, and solicitous of; the *good Effects* of which we *daily experience* by the *Safety* we enjoy, as well in our Trade, by the Protection of his Ships of War, as by Land, by an Independent Company maintain'd purely for our Safety and Encouragement. The taking off the Enumeration of Rice is a peculiar Favour," &c.[2]

By these Accounts we learn, that the People of that Province, far from losing by the Change, obtain'd internal Security and external Protection, both by Sea and Land; the Dissenters a Restoration and Establishment of their Privileges, which the Proprietary Government attempted to deprive them of; and the whole Province, Favours in point of Trade with respect to their grand Staple Commodity, which from that Time they were allowed to carry directly to foreign Ports, without being oblig'd, as before, to enter in *England*.

With regard to the neighbouring Province of *New-Jersey*, we find, in a Representation from the Board of Trade to the Crown, dated "*Whitehall*, October 2, 1701," the following

[1] "Account of the British Settlements in America," p. 233, concerning Carolina. — F.

[2] Historical Register, No. 63, for 1731. — F.

Account of it, viz. "That the Inhabitants, in a Petition to his Majesty the last Year, complained of several Grievances they lay under by the Neglect or Mismanagement of the Proprietors of that Province, or their Agents; unto which they also added, that during the whole Time the said Proprietors have govern'd, or pretended to govern, that Province, they have never taken care to preserve or defend the same from the *Indians*, or other Enemies, by *sending* or *providing* any Arms, Ammunition or Stores, *as they ought to have done;* and the said Inhabitants thereupon humbly prayed, his Majesty would be pleased to commissionate some fit Person, to be Governor over them. That it has been represented to us by several Letters, Memorials, and other Papers, as well from the Inhabitants as Proprietors, that they are at present in *Confusion* and *Anarchy*, and that it is much to be apprehended, lest by the Heats of the Parties that are amongst them, they should fall into such Violences, as may endanger the Lives of many Persons, and destroy the Colony." [1]

In Consequence of these Disorders, and Petitions from the People, the Proprietors were oblig'd to surrender that Government to the Crown; Queen *Anne* then reigning; who of all our Crowned Heads since the Revolution, was by far the least favourable to Dissenters; yet her Instructions to Lord *Cornbury*, her first Governor, were express and full in their Favour, viz.

"*Instr.* 51. You are to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists) so that they may be contented with a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of the same, not giving Offence or Scandal to the Government."

[1] "Grants and Concessions, and Original Constitutions of New Jersey," printed at Philadelphia by W. Bradford, p. 606. — F.

"*Instr.* 52. And whereas we have been informed that divers of our good Subjects inhabiting those Parts, do make a religious Scruple of Swearing, and by reason of their refusing to take an Oath in any Court of Justice and other Places, are or may be liable to many Inconveniencies, our Will and Pleasure is, that in Order to their Ease in what they conceive to be Matter of Conscience, so far as may be consistent with good Order and Government, you take Care that an Act be passed in the General Assembly of our said Province, to the like Effect as that passed here in the Seventh and Eighth Years of his late Majesty's Reign, entitled, 'An Act that the solemn Affirmation and Declaration of the People called Quakers, shall be accepted instead of an Oath in the usual Form;' and that the same be transmitted to us, and to our Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as before directed.

"*Instr.* 53. And whereas we have been farther informed, that in the Settlement of the Government of our said Province, it may so happen, that the Number of Inhabitants fitly qualified to serve in our Council, in the General Assembly, and in other Places of Trust and Profit there, will be but small; it is therefore our Will and Pleasure, that such of the said People called *Quakers*, as shall be found capable of any of those Places and Employments, and accordingly be elected or appointed to serve therein, may, upon their taking and signing the Declaration of Allegiance to us, in the Form used by the same People here in *England*, together with a solemn Declaration for the true Discharge of their respective Trusts, be admitted by you into any of the said Places or Employments," &c.[1]

And the same Privileges have been, and still are, fully

[1] "Grants and Concessions," &c., p. 633. — F.

enjoy'd in that Province by Dissenters of all kinds; the Council, Assembly, and Magistracy being fill'd with *Episcopalians*, *Presbyterians*, and *Quakers*, promiscuously, without the least Distinction or Exclusion of any. We may farther remark, on the above Report of the Board of Trade, That the Defence of a Proprietary Province was originally look'd upon as *the Duty of the Proprietaries*, who receiv'd the Quit-rents, and had the Emoluments of Government; whence it was, that in former Wars, when Arms, Ammunition, Cannon, and Military Stores of all Kinds, have been sent by the Crown to all the Colonies under its immediate Government, whose Situation and Circumstances requir'd it, nothing of the Kind has been sent to Proprietary Governments. And to this Day, neither *Pennsylvania* nor *Maryland* have receiv'd any such Assistance from the Crown; nor did *Carolina*, till it became a King's Government.

Massachusetts-Bay, in *New-England*, lost its Charter in the latter End of King Charles's Reign, when the Charters of *London*, and all the Corporations in *England*, were seized. At the Revolution the Crown gave them a better Constitution, which they enjoy to this Day: No Advantages were taken against the Privileges of the People, tho' then universally *Dissenters*. The same Privileges are enjoy'd by the Dissenters in *New Hampshire*, which has been a Royal Government ever since 1679, when the Freeholders and Inhabitants petition'd to be taken under the immediate Protection of the Crown. Nor is there existing in any of the *American* Colonies, any *Test* imposed by *Great Britain*, to exclude *Dissenters* from Offices. In some Colonies, indeed, where the Episcopalians and in others the Dissenters, have been predominant, they have made partial Laws in favour of their

respective Sects, and laid some Difficulties on the others; but those Laws have been, generally, on Complaint, repealed at home.

It is farther objected, you tell me, that "if we have a Royal Government, we must have with it a Bishop, and a Spiritual Court, and must pay Tythes to support an Episcopal Clergy." A Bishop for *America* has been long talk'd of in *England*, and probably from the apparent Necessity of the Thing, will sooner or later be appointed; because a Voyage to *England* for Ordination is extreamly inconvenient and expensive to the young Clergy educated in *America;* and the Episcopal Churches and Clergy in these Colonies cannot so conveniently be governed and regulated by a Bishop residing in *England*, as by one residing among these committed to his Care. But this Event will happen neither sooner nor later for our being, or not being, under a Royal Government. And the Spiritual Court, if the Bishop should hold one, can have Authority only with his own People, if with them, since it is not likely that any Law of this Province will ever be made to submit the Inhabitants to it, or oblige them to pay Tithes; and without such Law, Tithes can no more be demanded here than they are in any other Colony; and there is not a single Instance of *Tithes* demanded or paid in any part of *America*. A Maintenance has, indeed, been established in some Colonies, for the Episcopal Clergy; as in *Virginia*, a Royal Government; and in *Maryland*, a Proprietary Government: But this was done by Acts of their own, which they were not oblig'd to make, if they did not chuse it.

That *we shall have a standing Army to maintain*, is another Bugbear rais'd to terrify us from endeavouring to obtain a King's Government. It is very possible, that the Crown may

think it necessary to keep Troops in *America* henceforward, to maintain its Conquests, and defend the Colonies; and that the Parliament may establish some Revenue arising out of the American Trade, to be apply'd towards supporting those Troops. It is possible, too, that we may, after a few Years Experience, be generally very well satisfy'd with that Measure, from the steady Protection it will afford us against Foreign Enemies, and the Security of internal Peace among ourselves, without the Expence or Trouble of a Militia. But assure yourself, my Friend, that whether we like it or not, our continuing under a Proprietary Government will not prevent it, nor our coming under a Royal Government promote and forward it, any more than they would prevent or procure Rain or Sunshine.

The other Objections you have communicated to me, are, that, "in case of a Change of Proprietary for Royal Government, our Judges and other Officers will be appointed and sent us from England; we must have a Legislative Council; our Assembly will lose the Right of Sitting on their own Adjournments; we shall lose the Right of chusing Sheriffs, and annual Assemblies, and of voting by Ballot." I shall not enter into the Question, whether Judges from *England* would probably be of Advantage or Disadvantage to our Law Proceedings. It is needless, as the Power of appointing them is given to the Governor here, by a Law that has receiv'd the Royal Assent, the *Act for establishing Courts*. The King's Governor only comes in Place of a Proprietary Governor; he must (if the Change is made) take the Government as he finds it. He can alter nothing. The same Answer serves for all the subsequent Objections. A Legislative Council under proper Regulations might perhaps be an Amendment of our Constitution, but it cannot take Place without our Consent,

as our Constitution is otherwise establish'd; nor can our Assembly lose the *Right of Sitting on their own Adjournments;* nor the People that of *chusing Sheriffs, and annual Assemblies, or of Voting by Ballot;* these Rights being all confirm'd *by* Acts of Assembly assented to by the Crown. I mean the Acts entitled, "An Act to ascertain the Number of Members of Assembly and to regulate the Elections;" and "An Act for Regulating the Elections of Sheriffs and Coroners;" both passed in the 4th of Queen *Anne.*

I know it has been asserted, to intimidate us, that those Acts, so far from being approved by the Crown, were never presented. But I can assure you, from good Authority, that they, with forty-eight others, (all pass'd at the same time by Governor *Evans,*) were duly laid before the Queen in Council; who on the 28th of *April,* 1709 referred the same to the Board of Trade. The Board, on the 8th of *September,* 1709, reported upon the said Fifty Acts, that they had considered the same, and had taken the Opinion of the Attorney-General upon several of them in point of Law; and they represented against Six of them, as unfit to be continued in force; but as to the other forty-four, the Titles of which are given at large, and among them the two *material Acts* above mentioned, they had *no Objection* to the same. Whereupon there issued two Orders of the Queen in Council both dated at the Court at *Windsor,* the 24th of *October,* 1709, one repealing the Six Laws objected to; and the other, approving the remaining Forty-four.

This is a Fact that you may depend upon. There is therefore nothing now that can deprive us of those Privileges but an Act of Parliament; and we may rely on the united Justice of King, Lords, and Commons, that no such Act will ever pass, while we continue loyal and dutiful Subjects. An Act

of Assembly, indeed may give them up; but I trust, urgent as they are for Admission, we shall never see Proprietary Friends enow in the House to make that detestable Sacrifice.

In fine, it does not appear to me, that this *Change of Government* can possibly hurt us; and I see many Advantages that may flow from it. The Expression, *Change of Government*, seems, indeed, to be too extensive; and is apt to give the Idea of a general and total Change of our Laws and Constitution. It is rather and only a *Change of Governor*, that is, instead of self-interested Proprietaries, a gracious King! His Majesty who has no Views but for the Good of the People, will thenceforth appoint the Governor, who, unshackled by Proprietary Instructions, will be at Liberty to join with the Assembly in enacting wholesome Laws. At present, when the King requires Supplies of his faithful Subjects, and they are willing and desirous to grant them, the Proprietaries intervene and say, *unless our private Interests in certain Particulars are served*, NOTHING SHALL BE DONE. This insolent Tribunitial VETO has long encumbered all our Publick Affairs, and been productive of many Mischiefs. By the Measure proposed, not even the Proprietaries can justly complain of any Injury. The being oblig'd to fulfill a fair Contract is no Injury. The Crown will be under no Difficulty in compleating the old Contract made with their Father, as there needs no Application to Parliament for the necessary Sum, since half the Quit-Rents of the Lower Counties belongs to the King, and the many Years Arrears in the Proprietaries' Hands, who are the Collectors, must vastly exceed what they have a Right to demand, or any Reason to expect.[1]

[1] In 1722, the Arrears then in their Hands were computed at £18,000 Sterling. — F.

On the whole, I cannot but think, the more the Proposal is considered, of *an humble Petition to the* KING *to take this Province under his Majesty's immediate Protection and Government,* the more unanimously we shall go into it. We are chiefly People of *three Countries: British* Spirits can no longer bear the Treatment they have received, nor will they put on the Chains prepared for them by a Fellow Subject. And the *Irish* and *Germans* have felt too severely the Oppressions of *hard-hearted Landlords and arbitrary Princes,* to wish to see, in the Proprietaries of *Pennsylvania,* both the one and the other united.

I am, with much Respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

A. B.

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365. TO PETER COLLINSON[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] April 12, 1764.

DEAR SIR

We have just receiv'd the following Advice from Northampton County, viz. one David Owens, a Soldier belonging to the Regulars, but deserted some time since to the Indians, came in last Week to Capt. Carns's Post and deliver'd himself up. He brought with him a white Boy that had been taken Prisoner by the Indians last Fall, when they kill'd the People in the Flat upon Delaware; and also five fresh Indian Scalps. The Account given by him and the Boy is, that they were

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Frank T. Sabin. The following note is written upon the letter, in the handwriting of Peter Collinson: —

"The above bloody scheme of D. Owen to atone for his Desertion is very shocking. What must the Five Indian Nations think of the White Men who vie with them in Cruelties?" — ED.

with a Party of nine Indians, to wit, 5 men, 2 Women, and 2 Children, coming down Susquehanah to fetch Corn from their last Year's Planting Place; that they went ashore and encamp'd at Night and made a Fire by which they slept: that in the Night Owens made the White Boy get up from among the Indians, and go to the other side of the Fire; and then taking up the Indians' Guns, he shot two of the Men immediately, and with his Hatchet dispatch'd another Man together with the Women and Children. Two Men only made their Escape. Owens scalp'd the 5 grown Persons, and bid the White Boy scalp the Children; but he declin'd it, so they were left. He reports that the Indians were assembling in great Numbers when he left them.

I am Sir

Your most obedient Servant

B. FRANKLIN

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366. TO PETER COLLINSON[1] (B. M.)

Philad[a], April 30, 1764.

DEAR FRIEND

I have before me your kind Notices of Feb. 3. and Feb. 10. Those you enclos'd for our Friend Bartram were carefully deliver'd. I have not yet seen the Squib you mention against your People, in the Supplement to the Magazine; but I think it impossible they should be worse us'd there than they have lately been here; where sundry inflammatory Pamphlets are printed and spread about to excite a mad armed Mob to massacre them. And it is my Opinion they are still in some Danger, more than they themselves seem to apprehend, as

[1] Purchased for the British Museum, at Sotheby's, May 5, 1904. — ED.

our Government has neither Goodwill nor Authority enough to protect them.

By the enclos'd Papers you will see that we are all to pieces again; and the general Wish seems to be a King's Government. If that is not to be obtain'd, many talk of quitting the Province, and among them your old Friend, who is tired of these Contentions, & longs for philosophic Ease and Leisure.

I suppose by this Time the Wisdom of your Parliament has determin'd in the Points you mention, of Trade, Duties, Troops and Fortifications in America.

Our Opinions or Inclinations, if they had been known, would perhaps have weigh'd but little among you. We are in your Hands as Clay in the Hands of the Potter; and so in one more Particular than is generally consider'd: for as the Potter cannot waste or spoil his Clay without injuring himself, so I think there is scarce anything you can do that may be hurtful to us, but what will be as much or more so to you. This must be our chief Security; for Interest with you we have but little. The West Indians vastly outweigh us of the Northern Colonies. What we get above a Subsistence we lay out with you for your Manufactures.

Therefore what you get from us in Taxes you must lose in Trade. The Cat can yield but her skin. And as you must have the whole Hide, if you first cut Thongs out of it, 'tis at your own Expence. The same in regard to our Trade with the foreign West India Islands. If you restrain it in any Degree, you restrain in the same Proportion our Power of making Remittances to you & of course our Demand for your Goods; for you will not clothe us out of Charity, tho' to receive 100 per cent for it in Heaven. In time perhaps Mankind may be wise enough to let Trade take its own Course,

find its own Channels, and regulate its own Proportions, etc. At present, most of the Edicts of Princes, Placaerts, Laws & Ordinances of Kingdoms & States for that purpose, prove political Blunders. The Advantages they produce not being *general* for the Commonwealth; but *particular*, to private Persons or Bodies in the State who procur'd them, and *at the Expence of the rest of the People.* Does no body see, that if you confine us in America to your own Sugar Islands for that Commodity, it must raise the Price of it upon you in England? Just so much as the Price advances, so much is every Englishman tax'd to the West Indians.

Apropos, Now we are on the Subject of Trade and Manufactures, let me tell you a Piece of News, that though it might displease a very respectable Body among you, the Button-makers, will be agreable to yourself as a Virtuoso: It is, that we have discover'd a Beach in a Bay several Miles round, the Pebbles of which are all in the Form of Buttons, whence it is called *Button-mold Bay;* where thousands of Tons may be had for fetching; and as the Sea washes down the slaty Cliff, more are continually manufacturing out of the Fragments by the Surge. I send you a Specimen of Coat, Wastecoat & Sleeve Buttons; just as Nature has turn'd them. But I think I must not mention the Place, lest some Englishman get a Patent for this *Button-mine*, as one did for the *Coalmine* at Louisburgh, and by neither suffering others to work it, nor working it himself, deprive us of the Advantage God & Nature seem to have intended us. As we have now got Buttons, 'tis something towards our Cloathing; and who knows but in time we may find out where to get Cloth? — for as to our being always supply'd by you, 'tis folly to expect it. Only consider *the rate of our Increase*, and tell me

if you can increase your Wooll in that Proportion, and where, in your little Island you can feed the Sheep. Nature has put Bounds to your Abilities, tho' none to your Desires. Britain would, if she could, manufacture & trade for all the World; England for all Britain;—London for all England; —and every Londoner for all London. So selfish is the human Mind! But 'tis well there is One above that rules these Matters with a more equal Hand. He that is pleas'd to feed the Ravens, will undoubtedly take care to prevent a Monopoly of the Carrion. Adieu, my dear Friend, & believe me ever

Yours most affectionately

B. FRANKLIN [1]

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367. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN [2]

Philadelphia, May 1, 1764.

DEAR STRANEY: — I received your favour of December 20th. You cannot conceive the satisfaction and pleasure you give your friends here by your political letters. Your accounts are so clear, circumstantial, and complete, that

[1] Endorsed upon this letter is the following note in the handwriting of Peter Collinson: "Extract from Dr. Gale of Conecticut May 10: 1764 If the report of what your Parliament has done for us be complyed with, wee must then drink Wine of our own Making or none at all.

"The more duties Wee pay the less British Manufactures wee shall be able to Import and the more wee must be obliged to Manufacture both Woolen & Linnen — You may easily foresee the Consequences if you by Severe Laws force us to it — for so fond is the Generallity of our People of Noveltys, they had rather have goods manufactured from you, than do it themselves but necessity will force them." — ED.

[2] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 248. — ED.

tho' there is nothing too much, nothing is wanting to give us, as I imagine, a more perfect knowledge of your publick affairs than most people have that live among you. The characters of your speakers and actors are so admirably sketch'd, and their views so plainly opened, that we see and know everybody; they all become of our acquaintance. So excellent a manner of writing seems to me a superfluous gift to a mere printer. If you do not commence author for the benefit of mankind, you will certainly be found guilty hereafter of burying your talent. It is true that it will puzzle the Devil himself to find anything else to accuse you of, but remember he may make a great deal of that. If I were king (which may God in mercy to us all prevent) I should certainly make you the historiographer of my reign. There could be but one objection — I suspect you might be a little partial in my favour. But your other qualifications for an historian being duly considered, I believe we might get over that.

Our petty publick affairs here are in the greatest confusion, and will never, in my opinion, be composed, while the Proprietary Government subsists. I have wrote a little piece (which I send enclos'd) to persuade a change. People talk of sending me to England to negotiate it, but I grow very indolent. Bustling is for younger men.

Mrs Franklin, Sally, and my son and daughter of the Jerseys, with whom I lately spent a week, all join in best wishes of prosperity to you and all yours with, dear sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN

P. S. I will do everything in my power to recommend

the work Mr. Griffith[1] mentions, having the same sentiments of it that you express. But I conceive many more of them come to America than he imagines. Our booksellers, perhaps, write for but few, but the reason is that a multitude of our people trade more or less to London; and all that are bookishly dispos'd receive the reviews singly from their correspondents as they come out.

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368. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[2]

Philadelphia, May 24, 1764.

DEAR KINSMAN,

The bearer is the Reverend Mr. Rothenbuler, minister of a new Calvinist German Church lately erected in this city. The congregation is but poor at present, being many of them new comers, and (like other builders) deceived in their previous calculations, they have distressed themselves by the expense of their building; but, as they are an industrious, sober people, they will be able in time to afford that assistance to others, which they now humbly crave for themselves.

His business in Boston is, to petition the generous and charitable among his Presbyterian brethren for their kind benefactions. As he will be a stranger in New England, and I know you are ready to do every good work, I take the freedom to recommend him and his business to you for your

[1] Ralph Griffiths (1720–1803) was at this time making vigorous efforts to increase the circulation of the *Monthly Review*, the success of which was being injured by the rivalry of Smollett's *Critical Review*. — ED.

[2] From "Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin," Boston, 1833, p. 93. — ED.

friendly advice and countenance. The civilities you show him shall be acknowledged as done to your affectionate uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

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369. TO GEORGE WHITEFIELD (A. P. S.)

DEAR FRIEND, Philad[a], June 19, 1764.

I received your Favours of the 21st past, and of the 3d Instant, and immediately sent the inclos'd as directed.

Your frequently repeated Wishes and Prayers for my Eternal, as well as temporal Happiness are very obliging. I can only thank you for them and offer you mine in return. I have myself no Doubts that I shall enjoy as much of both as is proper for me. That Being who gave me Existence, and thro' almost threescore Years has been continually showering his Favours upon me, whose very Chastisements have been Blessings to me; can I doubt that he loves me? And, if he loves me, can I doubt that he will go on to take care of me, not only here but hereafter? This to some may seem Presumption; to me it appears the best grounded Hope; Hope of the Future, built on Experience of the Past.

By the Acc[ts] I have of your late Labours, I conclude your Health is mended by your Journey, which gives me Pleasure. Mrs. Franklin presents her cordial Respects, with those of, dear Sir, your affect. humble Serv[t]

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. We hope you will not be deterr'd from visiting your Friends here by the bugbear Boston Acc[t] of the Unhealthiness of Philad[a].

370. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a], June 25. 1764.

DEAR SIR: — I wrote a few lines to you *via* Liverpool; but they were too late for the Ship, and now accompany this.

I gave Mr Parker a Power of Attorney to act for you and myself with respect to Mecom's Affairs, who has, under Oath, surrendred all he possess'd into his Hands, to be divided proportionably between us and his other Creditors, which are chiefly Rivington and Fletcher, and Hamilton and Balfour. The Effects consist of a Printing Press, some tolerably good Letters, and some Books and Stationary. He has render'd particular and exact Accounts, but his All will fall vastly short of Payment. I suppose it will scarce amount to 4/ in the Pound. Parker thinks him honest, and has let him have a small Printing House at Newhaven, in Connecticut where he is now at work; but having a Wife and a Number of small Children, I doubt it will be long ere he gets anything beforehand so as to lessen much of his old Debt. I think it would be well for each of his Creditors to take again what remains unsold of their respective Goods, of which there are separate Accounts, and join in impowering Mr. Parker to sell the Remainder, to be divided among us. Tho' on second Thoughts, perhaps the fairest Way is to sell and divide the whole. You can obtain their Sentiments, and send me your own. As to what Parker owes you, it is very safe, and you must have Interest.

[1] From the original in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. — ED.

I hope the Bath will fully re-establish good Mrs. Strahan's Health. I enjoy the Pleasure with which you speak of your Children. God has been very good to you, from whence I think you may be *assured* that he loves you, and that he will take at least as good Care of your future Happiness as he has done of your present. What Assurance of the *Future* can be better founded than that which is built on Experience of the *Past?* Thank me for giving you this Hint, by the Help of which you may die as chearfully as you live. If you had Christian Faith, *quantum suff.*, this might not be necessary; but as matters are it may be of Use.

Your Political Letters are Oracles here. I beseech you to continue them. With unfeigned Esteem, I am, as ever, Dear Friend,

Yours affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

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371. TO JOHN WINTHROP[1] (H.)

Philad[a] July 10, 1764.

I RECEIVED your Favour of the 12th past, and congratulate you on the Recovery of M[rs] Winthrop & your Children from the Small Pox.

Mr. Stiles return'd Apinus to me sometime since. I must confess I am pleas'd with his Theory of Magnetism. Perhaps I receive it the more readily on Acc[t] of the Relation he has given it to mine of Electricity. But there is one Difficulty I cannot solve by it quite to my satisfaction, which is, that if a Steel Ring be made Magnetical by passing Mag-

[1] John Winthrop (1714–1779), Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard College (1738–1779). — ED.

nets properly round it, and afterwards broken into two semicircles each of them will have strong N. & S. Poles, in whatever part the Ring is broken. I have not try'd this, but have been assur'd 'tis so & I know that a magnetic Bar broken has after Breaking 4 Poles, *i.e.* it becomes two compleat Bars.

I think with him that Impermeability to the El. Fluid, is the Property of all El. per Se; or that, if they permit it to pass at all, it is with Difficulty, greater or less in different El. per Se. Glass hot permits it to pass freely, and in the different degrees between hot and cold may permit it to pass more or less freely.

I shall think of the affair of your unfortunate College, and try if I can be of any Service in procuring some Assistance towards restoring your Library. Please to present my respectful Compliments to Dr. Chauncy, Mr Elliot & Mr. Cooper & *believe* me with sincere esteem

Sir

Your most obedient
humble servant

B. FRANKLIN.

My respects to the President & to Mr Danforth.[1]

[1] The President was the Rev. Edward Holyoke, who held office 1737–1769. Samuel Danforth (1696–1777) was President of the Council of the Massachusetts Colony, and a student of natural philosophy and chemistry. — ED.

372. TO COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET[1] (B. M.)

Philadelphia, August 16, 1764.

DEAR SIR: — Returning just now from the Board of Commissioners, I found your agreable favour of the 10th instant. We had a Meeting on Tuesday, when your Letter to the Governor was laid before us, his Honour not present and the Board thin. I think none but myself spoke then for the measure recommended; so to prevent its being too hastily refus'd, I moved to refer it to this Day, when we might have a fuller Board. The principal objection was, that the Act did not empower us to go farther. To-day we got over that Objection and all others, and came to a Resolution which will be communicated to you by the Governor, I suppose, and the Money sent by Captain Young. We have fully, as we understand it, comply'd with your Requisition. And 'tis a Pleasure to me to have done every thing you wish'd me to do in the Affair before the Receipt of your Letter.

I recollect that I once in Conversation promised you some Papers I had by me, containing Hints for Conducting an Indian War. I have since found them, and on looking them over, am of Opinion you will meet with nothing new in them that is of any Importance; however, to keep my Promise, I now send them enclosed.

[1] B. M. Add. MSS., 21,650.

Colonel Bouquet was born at Rolle, in the canton of Berne, in 1719. He entered the British service in 1754, and was with Washington in the expedition against Fort Duquesne, under General Forbes, in 1758. He died at Pensacola, Florida, in 1765. — ED.

The June Packet is arrived from England, as is also our friend Mr. Allen, but we have no News by them that is material. France and England are both diligently repairing their Marine; but I suppose 't is a Matter of course, and not with Intention of any new Rupture. The Ministerial Party is said to be continually gaining Strength and the Opposition diminishing. Abroad the Poles are cutting one another's Throats a little, about their Election. But 't is their Constitution, and I suppose reckon'd among their Privileges to sacrifice a few Thousands of the Subjects every interregnum either to the Manes of the deceas'd King, or to the Honour of his Successor. And if they are fond of this Privilege, I don't know how their Neighbours have any right to disturb them in the enjoyment of it. And yet the Russians have entered their Country with an Army to preserve Peace! *and secure the* FREEDOM *of the Election!*

It comes into my mind that you may easily do me a Kindness, and I ought not, by omitting to acquaint you with the Occasion, deprive you of the Pleasure you take in serving your Friends. By this Ship I hear that my Enemies (for God has blessed me with two or three, to keep me in order) are now representing me at home as an Opposer and Obstructor of his Majesty's Service here. If I know anything of my own Heart, or can remember any thing of my own Actions, I think they might have as justly have accus'd me of being a blackamoore. You cannot but have heard of the Zeal and Industry with which I have promoted the Service in the time of General Braddock, and the Douceurs I procured for the Officers that served under him. I spent a Summer in that Service without a Shilling Advantage to myself, in the Shape of Profit, Commission, or any other

way whatsoever. I projected a Method of supplying General Shirley with £10,000 worth of Provisions, to be given at his Request by this Province, and carried the same thro' the House, so as to render it effectual; together with a Gift of some Hundreds of warm Wastecoats, Stockings, Mittens, etc., for the Troops, in their first Winter Service at Albany. And at Lord Loudon's Request I so manag'd between the Governor and Assembly as to procure the Passage of the £60,000 Act then greatly wanted, and which met with great difficulty. On your Arrival here you know the Readiness with which I endeavour'd to serve the Officers in the Affair of their Quarters. And you have been a Witness of my Behaviour as a Commissioner, in the Execution of the present Act, and of my Forwardness to carry at the Board every Measure you proposed to promote the Service. What I would request is, that you would take Occasion in some Letter to me to express your Sentiments of my Conduct in these Respects so far as has come to your Knowledge or fallen under your Observation. My having such a Letter to produce on Occasion may possibly be of considerable Service to me. With the most perfect Esteem, I am, dear sir, your most obedient humble servant

B. FRANKLIN.

Mrs. Franklin and Sally join me in Prayers for your Success and happy Return.

I send you enclos'd our last political Pamphlet, to amuse you on some rainy day.

373. TO ANTHONY TODD[1] (P. R. O.)

Philada., Sept. 2, 1764.

SIR: — We have just receiv'd some important News from Presquisle, on Lake Erie, which it is my Duty to take this first Opportunity of communicating thro' you to his Majesty's Postmaster General.

The Public Papers, before this can come to hand, will have inform'd you that Sir William Johnson had held a Treaty at Niagara, & concluded a Peace with all the Indian Nations or Tribes that were at War with us, the Delawares, Shawanese, and other Ohio Indians excepted, who had haughtily refused to send Deputies to the Congress. We were much concern'd to hear of their standing out, as by their Situation they were most capable of injuring this and the neighbouring Provinces, and had actually committed all the late Ravages on the Frontiers of Pensilvania and Virginia. But these People being inform'd that Col. Bouquet, from this Province, with 1000 of our Provincials, besides Regulars, was on his March towards their Country; and that Col. Bradstreet, with a considerable Force of Regulars, and New York and New Jersey Provincials, was advancing along the Back of their Territories by Lake Erie, they suddenly chang'd their Resolution of continuing the War, and sent ten of their principal Men as Deputies, who met Col. Bradstreet at Presquisle, and in the most submissive Manner acknowledg'd their Fault in commencing this War on the English without the least Cause or Provocation, and humbly

[1] P. R. O. A. W. I. 197. — ED.

begg'd for Mercy and Forgiveness, and that a Peace might be granted them. The Colonel, after severely reproving them, granted them Peace on the following Terms:

1. That all the Prisoners now in their Country should be immediately collected and delivered up to him at Sandusky within 25 days, none to remain among them under any pretence of Marriage, Adoption, or otherwise, and the unwilling to be forc'd away.

2. That they should cede to the English, and renounce forever all Claim to the Posts or Forts now or late in our Possession in their Country. And that we should be at Liberty to erect as many new Forts or Trading Houses as we pleased, wherever we thought them necessary for Security of our Trade. And that round each Fort now or hereafter to be built, they should cede to us forever as much Land as a Cannon could throw a Shot over, to be cultivated by our People for the more convenient furnishing Provisions to the Garrison.

3. That in Case any one of the Tribes should hereafter renew the War against the English, the others should join us in reducing them and bringing them to Reason. And that particular Murderers hereafter given up to preserve Peace, should be tried by the English Law, the Jury to be half Indians of the same Nation with the Criminal.

4. That six of the Deputies should remain with him as Hostages, till the Prisoners were restor'd and these Articles confirmed.

These Terms were thankfully accepted and signed by the Deputies with their Marks as usual; they declaring themselves fully authorized for that purpose by the Shawanese, Delawares, Hurons of Sandusky, and the other Tribes inhabiting

the Plains of Scioto, and all the Countries between Lake Erie and the Ohio.

The other four Deputies, with an English Officer and an Indian, were immediately dispatch'd to acquaint the Nations with what had passed, and inform them that the Colonel would not discontinue his March, but proceed to Sandusky, where he expected their Chiefs would meet him and ratify the Treaty; otherwise they should find two Armies of Warriors in their Country, and no future Proposals of Peace would be hearkned to, but they should be cut off from the Face of the Earth.

If this Peace holds, it will be very happy for these Colonies. We only Apprehend, that the Savages, obtaining a Peace so easily, without having suffered the Chastisement they deserve for their late Perfidy, and without being oblig'd to make any Restitution or Satisfaction for the Goods they robb'd our Merchants of, and the Barbarities they committed (except the Cession of those small Tracts round Forts), will more readily incline to renew the War, on every little Occasion.

Be pleased to present my Dutiful Respects to the Postmaster-General; and believe me, with much Esteem, sir, your most obedient humble Servant, B. FRANKLIN.

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374. TO WILLIAM STRAHAN [1]

Philadelphia, September 24, 1764.

DEAR MR. STRAHAN: — I wrote to you of the first instant, and sent you a bill for £13, and a little list of books to be

[1] From John Bigelow, "The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin," Vol. III, p. 253. — ED.

bought with it. But as Mr. Becket has since sent them to me, I hope this will come time enough to countermand that order. The money, if you have received it, may be paid to Mr. Stephenson, to whom we have wrote for sundry things.

I thank you for inserting the messages and resolutions entire. I believe it has had a good effect; for a friend writes me that it is astonishing with what success it was propagated in London by the Proprietaries; that the resolutions were the most indecent and undutiful to the Crown, &c., so that when he saw them, having before heard those reports, he could not believe they were the same.

I was always unwilling to give a copy of the chapter [1] for fear it would be printed, and by that means I should be deprived of the pleasure I often had in amusing people with it. I could not, however, refuse it to the two best men in the world, Lord Kames and Mr. Small, and should not to the third if he had not been a printer. But you have overpaid me for the loss of that pleasure by the kind things you have so handsomely said of your friend in the introduction.

You tell me that the value I set on your political letters is a strong proof that my judgment is on the decline. People seldom have friends kind enough to tell them that disagreeable truth, however useful it might be to know it; and indeed I learn more from what you say than you intended I should; for it convinces me that you had observed the decline for some time past in other instances, as 't is very unlikely you should see it first in my good opinion of your writings; but you have kept the observation to yourself till you had an opportunity of hinting it to me kindly under

[1] See "Parable upon Persecution." — ED.

the guise of modesty in regard to your own performances. I will confess to you another circumstance that must confirm your judgment of me, which is that I have of late fancy'd myself to write better than ever I did; and, farther, that when any thing of mine is abridged in the papers or magazines, I conceit that the abridger has left out the very best and brightest parts. These, my friend, are much stronger proofs, and put me in mind of Gil Blas's patron, the homily-maker.

I rejoice to hear that Mrs Strahan is recovering; that your family in general is well, and that my little woman in particular is so, and has not forgot our tender connection. The enlarging of your house and the coach-house and stables you mention make me think of living with you when I come; for I love ease more than ever, and by daily using your horses I can be of service to you and them by preventing their growing too fat and becoming restif.

Mrs Franklin and Sally join in best wishes for you and all yours, with your affectionate

B. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR: — I wrote a few lines to you by this opportunity, but omitted desiring you to call on Mr. Jackson of the Temple and pay him for the copying a manuscript he sent me which he paid the stationer for doing on my account. Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

375. TO PETER COLLINSON[1] (P. C.)

Philad[a] Sept. 24. 1764

DEAR FRIEND

I received your kind Letter of June 29. We hear nothing here of the Proprietary's relenting. If any have it in charge from him to offer Concessions for Peace sake (as we are told from your side the Water they have) they keep them back in hopes the next Election may put the Proprietaries in a Condition not to need the proposing them. A few Days will settle this Point.

I receiv'd the Medal and have sent it forward to Mr. Elliot.

I shall endeavour to procure you some more of the Natural Buttons as soon as possible. I am glad my Remarks that accompany'd them gave you any Satisfaction.[2]

Our Friend John Bartram has sent a very curious Collection of Specimens of all the uncommonly valuable Plants and Trees of North America to the King. He was strongly persuaded by some to send them thro' the Hands of the Proprietary as the only proper Channel: but I advis'd him not to pass by his old Friend, to whom it must seem Neglect. He readily concur'd with my Opinion, and has sent the Box to you. I am assur'd you have Means enough of introducing his Present properly: but as John seem'd willing to have as many Strings as possible to his Bow, for fear of Accidents I mention'd Dr. Pringle to him as a good Friend of the Arts, and one who would lend any Assistance in the Matter if nec-

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. — ED.

[2] See letter to Collinson, dated April 30, 1764. — ED.

essary. He is Physician to the Queen; and I have, in my Letter to him, hinted the Matter to him; to prepare him if you should think fit to advise with him about it.

I wish some Notice may be taken of John's Merit. It seems odd that a German Lad of his Neighborhood, who has only got some Smatterings of Botany from him, should be so distinguish'd on that Account, as to be sent for by the Queen, and our old Friend, who has done so much, quite forgotten. He might be made happy, as well as more useful, by a moderate Pension that would enable him to travel thro' all the New Acquisitions, with Orders to the Governors and Commanding Officers at the several Outposts, to forward and protect him in his Journeys.

Please to acquaint Mr. Canton that I acknowledge the Receipt of his Letter, and shall write to him shortly.

I am, my dear Friend,

Yours affectionately

B. FRANKLIN.

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376. REMARKS

ON A PARTICULAR MILITIA BILL REJECTED BY THE PROPRIETOR'S DEPUTY, OR GOVERNOR.

TO THE FREEMEN OF PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia, September 28, 1764.

GENTLEMEN,

Your desire of knowing how the militia bill came to fail, in the last assembly, shall immediately be complied with.

As the governor pressed hard for a militia law, to secure the internal peace of the province, and the people of this

country had not been accustomed to militia service, the House, to make it more generally agreeable to the freeholders, formed the bill so that they might have some share in the election of the officers; to secure them from having absolute strangers set over them, or persons generally disagreeable.

This was no more, than that every company should choose, and recommend to the governor, three persons for each office of captain, lieutenant, and ensign; *out of which three* the governor was to commission *one* that he thought most proper, or which he pleased, to be the officer. And that the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, so commissioned by the governor, should, in their respective regiments, choose and recommend three persons for each office of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major; out of which three the governor was to commission *one*, whichever he pleased, to each of the said offices.

The governor's *amendment* to the bill in this particular was, to strike out wholly this privilege of the people, and take to himself the sole appointment of all the officers.

The next amendment was, to aggravate and enhance all the fines. A fine that the assembly had made one hundred pounds, and thought heavy enough, the governor required to be three hundred pounds. What they had made fifty Pounds, he required to be one hundred and fifty. These were fines on the commissioned officers for disobedience to his commands; but the non-commissioned officers, or common soldiers, whom, for the same offence, the assembly proposed to fine at ten pounds, the governor insisted should be fined fifty pounds.

These fines, and some others to be mentioned hereafter, the assembly thought ruinously high. But when, in a subse-

quent amendment, the governor would, for offences among the militia, take away the *trial by jury* in the common courts; and required, that the trial should be by a court-martial, composed of officers of his own sole appointing, who should have power of sentencing even to death; the House could by no means consent thus to give up their constituents' liberty, estate, and life itself, into the absolute power of a proprietary governor; and so the bill failed.

That you may be assured I do not misrepresent this matter, I shall give you the last-mentioned amendment (so called) at full length; and for the truth and exactness of my copy, I dare appeal to Mr. Secretary Shippen.

The words of the bill, page 43, were, "Every such person so offending, being legally convicted thereof," &c. By the words *legally convicted* was intended a conviction after legal trial, in the common course of the laws of the land. But the governor required this addition immediately to follow the words "convicted thereof," namely, "by a court-martial, shall suffer *death*, or such other punishment as such court, by their sentence or decree, shall think proper to inflict and pronounce. And be it farther enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when and so often as it may be necessary, the governor and commander-in-chief for the time being shall appoint and commissionate, under the great seal of this province, sixteen commissioned officers in each regiment; with authority and power to them, or any thirteen of them, to hold courts-martial, of whom a field officer shall always be one, and president of the said court; and such courts-martial shall and are hereby empowered to administer an oath to any witness, in order to the examination or trial of any of the offences, which by this act are made cog-

nizable in such courts, and shall come before them. Provided always, that, in all trials by a court-martial by virtue of this act, every officer present at such trial, before any proceedings be had therein, shall take an *oath* upon the holy Evangelists, before one justice of the peace in the county where such court is held; who are hereby authorized to administer the same, in the following words, that is to say; 'I, A B, do swear, that I will duly administer justice according to evidence, and to the directions of an act entitled, *An Act for forming and regulating the militia of the province of Pennsylvania*, without partiality, favour, or affection; and that I will not divulge the sentence of the court, until it shall be approved of by the governor or commander-in-chief of this province for the time being; neither will I, upon any account, at any time whatsoever, disclose or *discover the vote or opinion* of any particular member of the court-martial. So help me God.' And no sentence of death, or other sentence, shall be given against any offender, but by the concurrence of *nine* of the officers so sworn. And no sentence passed against any offender by such court-martial shall be put in execution, until report be made of the whole proceedings to the governor or commander-in-chief of this province for the time being, and his directions signified thereupon."

It is observable here, that, by the common course of justice, a man is to be tried by a jury of his neighbours and fellows, empanelled by a sheriff, in whose appointment the people have a choice. The prisoner too has a right to challenge twenty of the panel, without giving a reason, and as many more as he can give reasons for challenging; and before he can be convicted, the jury are to be unanimous; they are all

to agree that he is guilty, and are therefore all accountable for their verdict. But, by this amendment, the jury (if they may be so called) are all officers of the governor's sole appointing; and not one of them can be challenged; and, though a common militia-man is to be tried, no common militia-man shall be of that jury; and, so far from requiring all to agree, a bare majority shall be sufficient to condemn you. And, lest that majority should be under any check or restraint, from an apprehension of what the world might think or say of the severity or injustice of their sentence, an oath is to be taken, never to discover the vote or opinion of any particular member.

These are some of the chains attempted to be forged for you by the proprietary faction! Who advised the governor is not difficult to know. They are the very men, who now clamour at the assembly for a proposal of bringing the trial of a particular murder to this county from another, where it was not thought safe for any man to be either juryman or witness, and call it disfranchising the people, who are now bawling about the constitution, and pretending vast concern for your liberties. In refusing you the least means of recommending, or expressing your regard for, persons to be placed over you as officers, and who were thus to be made your judges in life and estate, they have not regarded the example of the King, our wise as well as kind master; who, in all his requisitions made to the colonies, of raising troops for their defence, directed, that, "the better to facilitate the important service, the commissions should be given to such as, from their weight and credit with the people, may be best enabled to effectuate the levies." [1] In establishing a militia

[1] See Secretary of State's Letters in the printed Votes. — F.

for the defence of the province, how could the "weight and credit" of men with the people be better discovered, than by the mode that bill directed, namely, by a majority of those that were to be commanded, nominating three for each office to the governor, of which three he might take the one he liked best?

However, the courts-martial being established, and all of us thus put into his Honour's absolute power, the governor goes on to enhance the fines and penalties. Thus, in page 49 of the bill, where the assembly had proposed the fine to be ten shillings, the governor required it to be ten pounds. In page 50, where a fine of five pounds was mentioned, the governor's amendment required it to be made fifty pounds. And, in page 44, where the assembly had said, "shall forfeit and pay any sum, not exceeding five pounds," the governor's amendment says, "shall suffer *death*, or such other punishment as shall, according to the nature of the offence, be inflicted by the sentence of a court-martial."

The assembly's refusing to admit of these amendments in that bill, is one of their offences against the lord proprietary, for which that faction are now abusing them in both the languages [1] of the province, with all the virulence that reverend malice can dictate; enforced by numberless barefaced falsehoods, that only the most dishonest and base would dare to invent, and none but the most weak and credulous can possibly believe.

VERITAS.

[1] That is, the English and German languages, both of which were used in Pennsylvania. — ED.

377. TO COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET (B. M.)

Philad[a], Sept. 30, 1764.

DEAR SIR:—

I have been so totally occupied with the Sitting of the Assembly and other urgent Affairs, that I could not till now do myself the Pleasure of writing to you, since the Receipt of your obliging Favours of August 10 and 22, and a subsequent one relating to Bradstreet's Peace, of which I think as you do. I thank you cordially for so readily complying with my Request. Your Letter was quite full and sufficient, and leaves me nothing to desire by way of Addition, except that if any Letter of yours relating to the present Expedition is like to be seen by the Secretary of State, you would take occasion just to mention me as one ready on that and every other Occasion to promote the Service of the Crown. The Malice and Industry of my Adversaries have, I find, made these Precautions a little necessary.

Your Sentiments of our Constitution are solid and just. I am not sure that the Change now attempted will immediately take place, nor am I very anxious about it. But sooner or later it will be effected. And till it is effected, we shall have little internal Quiet in the Administration of our Public Affairs.

I have lately receiv'd a Number of new Pamphlets from England and France, among which is a piece of Voltaire's on the Subject of Religious Toleration. I will give you a Passage of it, which being read here at a Time when we are torn to Pieces by Faction, religious and civil, shows us that

while we sit for our Picture to that able Painter, 'tis no small Advantage to us that he views us at a favourable Distance: "Mais que dirons-nous, dit il, de ces pacifiques *Primitifs* que l'on a nommés *Quakres* par dérision, et qui, avec des usages peut-être ridicules, ont été si vertueux, et ont enseigné inutilement la paix aux reste des hommes? Ils sont en Pensylvanie au nombre de cent mille; la Discorde, la Controverse, sont ignorées dans l'heureuse patrie qu'ils se sont faite, et le nom seul de leur ville de *Philadelphie*, qui leur rapelle a tout moment que les hommes sont frères, est l'exemple et la honte des peuples qui ne connaissent pas encore la tolérance."[1] The Occasion of his Writing this *Traité sur la Tolérance* was what he calls "le *Meurtre* de Jean Calas, *commis* dans Toulouse *avec le glaive de la Justice*, le 9me Mars 1762." There is in it abundance of good Sense and sound Reasoning mixed with some of those Pleasantries that mark the Author as strongly as if he had affixed his Name. Take one of them as a Sample: "J'ai aprens que le Parlement de Toulouse et quelques autres tribunaux, ont une jurisprudence singuliere: ils admettent des quarts, des tiers sixièmes de preuve. Ainsi, avec six

[1] "I do not find this passage precisely in any of Voltaire's writings. It certainly is not in the most accepted edition of his 'Traité sur la Tolérance.' Franklin probably quoted at second-hand, for Voltaire knew how to spell. What he actually wrote, and the foundation for Franklin's quotation, probably will be found in his 'Commentaire sur le livre des Délits et des Peines' ('Œuvres de Voltaire,' par Benchot, Vol. XLIII, p. 476), and runs as follows: 'Le Parlement de Toulouse a un usage bien singulier. On admet ailleurs des demi-preuves, qui au fond ne sont que des doutes; car on sait qu'il n'y a point de demi-vérités, mais à Toulouse on admets des quarts et des huitièmes de preuves. On y peut regarder, par exemple, un oui-dire comme un quart, un autre oui-dire plus vague comme un huitième; de sorte que huit rumeurs qui ne sont qu'un écho d'un bruit mal fondé peuvent devenir une preuve complète.'" — B.

oui-dires d'un côte, trois de l'autre, & quatre *quarts de présomtion* ils forment trois preuves complètes; et sur cette belle demonstration ils vous vouent un homme sans miséricorde. Une légére connoissance de l'art de raisonner sufirait pour leur faire prendre une autre méthode. Çe qu'on apelle une demi-preuve ne peut-être qu'un soupçon: Il n'y a po nt a la rigueur, de demi-preuve ou une chose est prouvée, ou elle ne l'est pas; il n'y a point, de milieu. Cent mille soupçons réunis ne peuvent pas plus etablir une preuve, que cent mille zéros ne peuvent composer un nombre. Il y a des quarts de tous dans la musique; mais il n'y a ni quart de vérité, ni quart de raisonnement."

I send you one of the Pamphlets, *Jugement dans l'affaire du Canady*, supposing it may be the more agreeable to you to see it, as during your War with that Colony you must have been made acquainted with some of the Characters concerned.

With the truest Esteem and Affection, I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

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378. PREFACE TO POOR RICHARD, IMPROVED

1765 (P. H. S.)

COURTEOUS READER,

The Patriarch *Noah*, Founder of the New World after the Flood, is called a Preacher of *Righteousness*. - - - Righteousness, or *Justice*, is, undoubtedly, of all the Virtues, the surest Foundation on which to erect and establish a new State. But there are two humbler Virtues, *Industry* and *Frugality*, which tend more to increase the Wealth, Power and Grandeur of the Community, than all the others without them. - - - Of these Virtues *Poor Richard* has been a Preacher now more

than thirty Years, and, he hopes, not without some Success. - - He finds, however, that his Audience increases, and is thence encouraged to continue his Admonitions, assuring all that practice them, that they will reap great Advantages to themselves, at the same time that they contribute to the Prosperity of their Country.

Taxes are of late Years greatly encreased among us, and now it is said we are to be burthened with the Payment of new Duties, while our Trade is at the same time to be curtailed and restricted. I do not mention these Things by Way of Complaint, or to excite Discontent in others. - - - I know the late Wars have increased Public Debt, which can only be discharged by Taxes and Duties; and that 'tis just and necessary, public as well as private Debts should be honestly and punctually paid. - - - I have heard too, that some of our Trade has been illegal, hurtful to the Nation, and therefore ought to be restricted: - - - And yet, though in most Cases, my political Faith is, that what our Superiors think best for us, is really best; nevertheless, in what relates to our Commerce with the foreign Islands, I give some Credit to the Opinion of a very intelligent Merchant, my Neighbour; who assures me, that the *West India* Planters, by superior Interest at home, have procured the Restraints to be laid on that Commerce, in order to acquire to themselves the Advantage of solely supplying with their Commodities, both *Britain* and her Northern Colonies, and of Course of raising their Prices on both at Pleasure. - - - If so, and we cannot help it if it is so; what are we to do, but, like honest and prudent Men, endeavour to do without the Things we shall, perhaps, never be able to pay for; or if we cannot do without them or something like them, to supply ourselves from our own

Produce at home. To this End, I have collected and written a few plain Instructions, which you will find in the Right Hand Pages of each Month; *First*, for making good Wine of our own wild Grapes. *Secondly*, for raising *Madeira* Wine in these Provinces. *Thirdly*, for the Improvement of our Corn Spirits, so as they may be preferable to Rum. - - - And this seems very material; for as we raise more Corn than the *English West-India* Islands can take off, and since we cannot now well sell it to the foreign Islands, what can we do with the Overplus better, than to turn it into Spirit, and thereby lessen the Demand for *West-India* Rum, which our Grain will not pay for? - - - *Fourthly*, for supplying ourselves with a Syrup, every Way superior to Melasses; and *Fifthly*, for obtaining Sugar from our own Vegetables, in reasonable Plenty. - - - These Things, if attended to, and practised with Success, may greatly relieve us. - - - I show my Good-will, however, by offering them to your Consideration; which is all that is in the Power of

Your faithful Servant,

RICHARD SAUNDERS.

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379. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1]

Philadelphia, November 3, 1764.

LOVING KINSMAN,

The case of the Armonica came home to-night, and the spindle, with all the rest of the work, seems well done. But on further consideration, I think it is not worth while to take one of them to London, to be filled with glasses as we intended.

[1] From "Familiar Letters and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Franklin," Boston, 1833, p. 94. — ED.

It will be better to send you one complete from thence, made under my direction; which I will take care shall be good. The glasses here will serve for these cases when I come back, if it please God that I live to return, and some friends will be glad of them.

Enclosed I send you that imposter's letter. Perhaps he may be found by his handwriting.

We sail on Wednesday. The merchants here in two hours subscribed eleven hundred pounds to be lent the publick for the charges of my voyage, &c. I shall take with me but a part of it, five hundred pounds sterling. Any sum is to be had, that I may want. My love to all. Adieu.

Yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.[1]

[1] Dr. Franklin was appointed to this second mission to England by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, October 26, 1764, and he was instructed to depart with all convenient despatch. As the Assembly had not then in the treasury any money, that could be appropriated for this purpose, they passed a resolve, "that the expense attending his voyage, and the execution of the trust reposed in him, should be provided for in the next bill prepared by the House for raising money to defray the public debts." On the strength of this pledge, the money was loaned by the merchants, although a party had made a considerable opposition to the appointment of an agent, who was known to be hostile to the Proprietaries, and had been active in promoting petitions for a change of the Pennsylvania government. — S.

380. REMARKS ON A LATE PROTEST AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. FRANKLIN AN AGENT FOR THIS PROVINCE.[1]

I HAVE generally passed over, with a silent Disregard, the *nameless* abusive Pieces that have been written against me; and tho' this Paper, called "A Protest," is signed by some respectable Names, I was, nevertheless, inclined to treat it with the same Indifference; but as the Assembly is therein reflected on upon my Account, it is thought more my Duty to make some Remarks upon it.

I would first observe then, that this Mode of *protesting* by the Minority, with a String of Reasons against the Proceedings of the Majority of the House of Assembly, is quite new among us; the present is the second we have had of the kind, and both within a few Months. It is unknown to the Practice of the House of Commons, or of any House of Representatives in *America*, that I have heard of; and seems an affected Imitation of the Lords in Parliament, which can by no Means become Assembly-men of *America*. Hence appears the Absurdity of the Complaint, that the House refused the Protest an Entry on their Minutes. The Protesters know that they are not, by any Custom or Usage, intitled to such an Entry, and that the Practice here is not

[1] Printed from a copy in P. H. S. An incomplete rough draft exists among the Franklin papers in A. P. S. For the history of the "Remarks," see the Life of Franklin. — ED.

only useless in itself, but would be highly inconvenient to the House, since it would probably be thought necessary for the Majority also to enter their Reasons, to justify themselves to their Constituents, whereby the Minutes would be incumbered, and the Public Business obstructed. More especially will it be found inconvenient, if such Protests are made use of as a new Form of Libelling, as the Vehicles of personal Malice, and as Means of giving to private Abuse the Appearance of a Sanction, as public Acts. Your Protest, Gentlemen, was therefore properly refused; and, since it is no Part of the Proceedings of Assembly, one may with the more Freedom examine it.

Your first Reason against my Appointment is, that you "believe me to be the chief Author of the Measures pursued by the last Assembly, which have occasioned such Uneasiness and Distraction among the good People of this Province." I shall not dispute my Share in those Measures; I hope they are such as will in time do Honour to all that were concerned in them. But you seem mistaken in the Order of Time: It was the Uneasiness and Distraction among the good People of the Province that occasioned the Measures; the Province was in Confusion before they were taken, and they were pursued in order to prevent such Uneasiness and Distraction for the future. Make one Step farther back, and you will find Proprietary Injustice, supported by Proprietary Minions and Creatures, the original Cause of all our Uneasiness and Distractions.

Another of your Reasons is, "that I am, as you are informed, very unfavourably thought of by several of his Majesty's Ministers." I apprehend, Gentlemen, that your Informer is mistaken. He indeed has taken great Pains to

give unfavourable Impressions of me, and perhaps may flatter himself, that it is impossible so much true Industry should be totally without Effect. His long Success in maiming or murdering all the Reputations that stand in his Way, which has been the dear Delight and constant Employment of his Life, may likewise have given him some just Ground for Confidence, that he has, as they call it, *done for me*, among the rest. But as I said before, I believe he is mistaken. For what have I done that they should think unfavourably of me? It cannot be my constantly and uniformly promoting the Measures of the Crown, ever since I had any Influence in the Province. It cannot, surely, be my promoting the Change from a Proprietary to a Royal Government.

If indeed I had, by Speeches and Writings, endeavoured to make his Majesty's Government universally odious in the Province. If I had harangued by the Week, to all Comers and Goers, on the pretended Injustice and Oppressions of Royal Government, and the Slavery of the People under it; if I had written traiterous Papers to this Purpose, and got them translated into other Languages, to give his Majesty's foreign Subjects here those horrible Ideas of it. If I had declared, written and printed, that "the King's little Finger we should find heavier than the Proprietor's whole Loins," with regard to our Liberties; *then indeed*, might the Ministers be supposed to think unfavourably of me. But these are not Exploits for a Man who holds a profitable Office under the Crown, and can expect to hold it no longer than he behaves with the Fidelity and Duty that becomes every good Subject. They are only for Officers of Proprietary Appointment, who hold their Commissions during his, and not the King's, Pleasure; and who, by dividing among themselves, and their Relations,

Offices of many Thousands a Year, enjoyed by Proprietary Favour, *feel* where to place their Loyalty. I wish they were as good Subjects to his Majesty; and perhaps they may be so, when the Proprietary interferes no longer.

Another of your Reasons is, "that the Proposal of me for an Agent is extremely disagreeable to a very great Number of the most serious and reputable Inhabitants of the Province; and the Proof is, my having been rejected at the last Election, tho' I had represented the City in Assembly for 14 Years."

And do those of you, Gentlemen, reproach me with this, who among near Four Thousand Voters, had scarcely a Score more than I had? It seems then, that your *Elections* were very near being *Rejections*, and thereby furnishing the same Proof in your Case that you produce in mine, of your being likewise extremely disagreeable to a very great Number of the most serious and reputable People. Do you, honourable Sir, reproach me with this, who for almost twice 14 Years have been rejected (if *not being chosen* is *to be rejected*) by the same People; and unable, with all your Wealth and Connections, and the Influence they give you, to obtain an Election in the County where you reside, and the City where you were born, and are best known, have been obliged to accept a Seat from one of the out Counties, the remotest of the Province! It is known, Sir, to the Persons who proposed me, that I was first chosen against my Inclination, and against my Entreaties that I might be suffered to remain a private Man. In none of the 14 Elections you mention did I ever appear as a Candidate. I never did, directly or indirectly, solicit any Man's Vote. For six of the Years in which I was annually chosen, I was absent, residing in England; during all which Time, your secret and open Attacks upon my Character and

Reputation were incessant; and yet you gained no Ground. And can you really, Gentlemen, find Matter of Triumph in this *Rejection* as you call it? A Moment's Reflection on the Means by which it was obtained, must make you ashamed of it.

Not only my Duty to the Crown, in carrying the Post-Office Act more duly into Execution, was made use of to exasperate the Ignorant, as if I was encreasing my own Profits, by picking their Pockets; but my very Zeal in opposing the Murderers, and supporting the Authority of Government, and even my Humanity, with regard to the innocent *Indians* under our Protection, were mustered among my Offences, to stir up against me those religious Bigots, who are of all Savages the most brutish. Add to this the numberless Falshoods propagated as Truths, and the many Perjuries procured among the wretched Rabble brought to swear themselves intitled to a Vote; and yet so *poor a Superiority!* obtained at all this Expence of Honour and Conscience! Can this, Gentlemen, be Matter of Triumph! Enjoy it then. Your Exultation, however, was short.

Your Artifices did not prevail everywhere; nor your double Tickets, and whole Boxes of forged Votes. A great Majority of the new-chosen Assembly were of the old Members, and remain uncorrupted. They still stand firm for the People, and will obtain Justice from the Proprietaries. But what does that avail to you who are in the Proprietary Interest? And what Comfort can it afford you, when by the Assembly's Choice of an Agent, it appears that the same, to you obnoxious, Man (notwithstanding all your venomous Invectives against him) still retains so great a Share of the public Confidence?

But "this step," you say, "gives you the more lively Afflic-

tion, as it is taken at the *very Moment* when you were informed by a Member of the House, that the Governor had assured him of his having received Instructions from the Proprietaries, to give his Assent to the Taxation of their Estates, *in the same Manner* that the Estates of other Persons are to be taxed; and also *to confirm*, for the public Use, the several Squares formerly *claimed* by the City." O the Force of Friendship! the Power of Interest! What Politeness they infuse into a Writer, and what *delicate* Expressions they produce!

The Dispute between the Proprietaries and us was about the *Quantum*, the *Rate* of their Taxation; and not about the *Manner;* but now, when all the World condemns them for requiring a partial Exemption of their Estates, and they are forced to submit to an honest Equality, 'tis called "*assenting* to be taxed in the *same Manner* with the People." Their *Restitution* of five public Squares in the Plan of the City, which they had near forty Years unjustly and dishonourably seized and detained from us, directing their Surveyor to map Streets over them, (in order to turn them into Lots) and their Officers to sell a part of them; this their *Disgorging* is softly called *confirming* them for the public Use; and instead of the plain Words, *formerly given* to the City by the first Proprietary, their Father, we have the cautious pretty Expression of "formerly *claimed* by the City." Yes; not only *formerly*, but *always* claimed, ever since they were *promised* and *given* to encourage the Settlers; and ever will be *claimed*, till we are put in actual Possession of them. 'Tis pleasant, however, to see how lightly and tenderly you trip over these Matters, as if you trod upon Eggs.

But that "*very Moment*," that precious Moment! Why was it so long delayed? Why were those healing Instructions

so long withheld and concealed from the People? They were, it seems, brought over by Mr. *Allen.*[1] Intelligence was received by various Hands from *London*, that Orders were sent by the Proprietaries, from which great Hopes were entertained of an Accommodation. Why was the Bringing and the Delivery of such Orders so long *denied?* The Reason is easily understood. Messieurs *Barclays*, Friends to both Proprietaries and People, wished for that Gentleman's happy Arrival, hoping his *Influence*, added to the *Power* and *Commissions* the Proprietaries had vested him with, might prove effectual in restoring Harmony and Tranquility among us. But he, it seems, hoped his *Influence* might do the Business without those Additions.

There appeared on his Arrival some Prospect, from sundry Circumstances, of a Change to be made in the House by the approaching Election. The Proprietary Friends and Creatures knew the Heart of their Master, and how extreamly disagreeable to him that *equal Taxation*, that *Restitution*, and the other *Concessions* to be made for the *Sake* of a *Reconciliation*, must necessarily be. They hoped therefore to spare him all those Mortifications, and thereby secure a greater Portion of his Favour. Hence the Instructions were not produced to the last Assembly; though they arrived before the *September* Sitting, when the Governor was in Town, and actu-

[1] Extract from a letter, dated London, August 6, 1764, from David Barclay and Sons to Messieurs James and Drinker.

"We very much wish for *William Allen's* happy Arrival on your Side; when we hope his Influence, added to the Power and Commissions the Proprietaries have invested him with, may prove effectual, in restoring Harmony and Tranquility among you, so much to be desired by every Well-wisher to your Province. Pray be assured of our sincerest and best Wishes for the Success of this salutary Work, and that nothing in our Power to contribute thereto, will ever be wanting."—F.

ally did Business with the House. Nor to the new Assembly were they mentioned, till the "*very Moment,*" the fatal *Moment,* when the House were on the Point of chusing that wicked Adversary of the Proprietary, to be an Agent for the Province in England.

But I have, you say, a "fixed Enmity to the Proprietaries," and "you believe it will preclude all Accommodation of our Disputes with them, even on just and reasonable Terms." And why do you think I have a fixed Enmity to the Proprietaries? I have never had any personal Difference with them. I am no Land-Jobber; and therefore have never had any Thing to do with their Land Office or Officers; if I had, probably, like others, I might have been obliged to truckle to their Measures, or have had like Causes of Complaint. But our private Interests never clashed; and all their Resentment against me, and mine to them, has been on the public Account. Let them do Justice to the People of *Pennsylvania,* act honourably by the Citizens of *Philadelphia,* and become honest Men; my Enmity, if that's of any Consequence, ceases from the "*very Moment,*" and, as soon as I possibly can, I promise to love, honour and respect them.

In the mean Time, why do you "believe it will preclude all Accommodation with them on just and reasonable Terms?" Do you not boast that their gracious Condescensions are in the Hands of the Governor; and that "if this had been the usual Time for Business, his Honour would have sent them down in a Message to the House." How then can my going to *England* prevent this Accommodation? The Governor can call the House when he pleases; and, one would think, that, at least in your Opinion, my being out of the Way would be a favourable Circumstance. For then, by "cultivating

the Disposition shown by the Proprietaries, every *reasonable Demand* that can be made on the Part of the People might be obtained; in vigorously insisting on which, you promise to unite more earnestly with the rest of the House." It seems then we have "*reasonable Demands*" to make, and as you call them a little higher, *equitable Demands*. This is much for Proprietary Minions to own; but you are all growing better, in Imitation of your Master, which is indeed very commendable. And if the Accommodation here should fail, I hope that, though you dislike the Person a Majority of two to one in the House have thought fit to appoint an Agent, you will nevertheless, in Duty to your Country, continue the noble Resolution of uniting with the rest of the House in vigorously insisting on that *Equity* and *Justice*, which such an Union will undoubtedly obtain for us.

I pass over the trivial Charge against the Assembly, that they "acted with *unnecessary Haste* in proceeding to this Appointment, without making a small Adjournment," &c., and your affected Apprehensions of Danger from that Haste. The Necessity of Expedition on this Occasion is as obvious to every one out of Doors as it was to those within; and the Fears you mention are not, I fancy, considerable enough to break your Rest.

I come then to your *high* Charge against me, "that I heretofore ventured, *contrary* to an Act of Assembly, to place the Public Money in the Stocks, whereby this Province suffered a Loss of 6000£, and that Sum, added to the 5000£ granted for my Expences, makes the whole Cost of my former Voyage to *England* amount to ELEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS!" How wisely was that Form in our Laws contrived, which, when a man is arraigned for his Life, requires the Evidence to speak

the Truth, the *whole Truth*, and *nothing but the Truth!* The Reason is manifest. A Falshood may destroy the Innocent; so may *Part of a Truth* without *the Whole;* and a Mixture of Truth and Falshood may be full as pernicious. You, Mr. Chief Justice, and the other Justices among the Protesters, and you, Sir, who are a Counsellor at Law, must all of you be well acquainted with this excellent Form; and when you arraign'd my Reputation (dearer to me than Life) before the Assembly, and now at the respectable Tribunal of the Public, would it not have well become your Honours to have had some small regard at least to the Spirit of that Form?

You might have mentioned, that the Direction of the Act to lodge the Money in the Bank, subject to the Drafts of the Trustees of the Loan-Office here, was impracticable; that the Bank refused to receive it on those Terms, it being contrary to their settled Rules to take Charge of Money subject to the Orders of unknown people living in distant Countries. You might have mentioned, that the House, being informed of this, and having no immediate Call for the Money, did themselves adopt the Measure of placing it in the Stocks, which then were low; where it might on a Peace produce a considerable Profit, and in the mean time accumulate an Interest: That they even passed a Bill, directing the subsequent Sums granted by Parliament to be placed with the former: That the Measure was prudent and safe; and that the Loss arose, not from *placing* the Money *in* the Stocks, but from the imprudent and unnecessary *drawing it out* at the very time when they were lowest, on some slight uncertain Rumours of a Peace concluded: That if the Assembly had let it remain another Year, instead of losing, they would have gained *Six Thousand Pounds;* and that, after all, since the Exchange at

which they sold their Bills was near *Twenty per Cent* higher when they drew than when the Stocks were purchased, the Loss was far from being so great as you represent it.

All these Things you might have said, for they are, and you know them to be, Part of the *whole Truth;* but they would have spoiled your Accusation. The late Speaker of your honourable House, Mr. *Norris*, who has, I suppose, all my Letters to him, and Copies of his own to me, relating to that Transaction, can testify with how much Integrity and Clearness I managed the whole Affair. All the House were sensible of it, being from time to time fully acquainted with the Facts. If I had gone to Gaming in the Stocks with the Public Money, and through my Fault a Sum was lost, as your Protest would insinuate, why was I not censured and punished for it when I returned? You, honourable Sir, (my Enemy of seven Years Standing) was then in the House. You were appointed on the Committee for examining my Accounts; you reported, that you found them just, and signed that Report.[1]

[1] Report of the Committee on Benjamin Franklin's Accounts.

"February 19, 1763. In Obedience to the Order of the House, we have examined the Account of Benjamin Franklin, Esq; with the Vouchers to us produced in Support thereof, and do find the same Account to be just, and that he has expended, in the immediate Service of this Province, the Sum of *Seven Hundred and Fourteen Pounds, Ten Shillings, and Seven Pence*, out of the Sum of *Fifteen Hundred Pounds* Sterling, to him remitted and paid, exclusive of any Allowance or Charge for his Support and Services for the Province.

"JOHN MORTON, JOHN HUGHES,
WILLIAM ALLEN, SAMUEL RHOADS,
JOHN ROSS, JOHN WILKINSON,
JOHN MOOR, ISAAC PEARSON.
JOSEPH FOX,

"The House, taking the foregoing Report of the Committee of Accounts into Consideration, and having spent some Time therein,

I never solicited the Employ of Agent: I made no Bargain for my future Service, when I was ordered to *England* by the Assembly; nor did they vote me any Salary. I lived there near six Years at my own Expence, and I made no Charge or Demand when I came home. You, Sir, of all others, was the very Member that proposed (for the Honour and Justice of the House) a Compensation to be made me of the *Five Thousand Pounds* you mention. Was it with an Intent to reproach me thus publicly for accepting it? I thanked the House for it then, and I thank you now for proposing it: Tho' you, who have lived in *England*, can easily conceive, that, besides the Prejudice to my private Affairs by my Absence, a *Thousand Pounds* more would not have reimbursed me.

The Money voted was immediately paid me. But, if I had occasioned the Loss of *Six Thousand Pounds* to the Province, here was a fair Opportunity of securing easily the greatest Part of it. Why was not the *Five Thousand Pounds*

"*Resolved*,

"That the Sum of *Five Hundred Pounds* Sterling, per Annum, be allowed and given to Benjamin Franklin, Esq; late Agent for the Province of *Pennsylvania* at the Court of *Great Britain*, during his Absence of six Years from his Business and Connections, in the Service of the Public; and that the Thanks of this House be also given to the said Gentleman by Mr. Speaker, from the Chair, as well for the faithful Discharge of his Duty to this Province in particular, as for the many and important Services done *America* in general, during his Residence in *Great Britain*."

"Thursday, March 31, 1763. Pursuant to a Resolve of the nineteenth of last Month, that the Thanks of this House be given to *Benjamin Franklin*, Esq; for his many Services, not only to the Province of Pennsylvania, but to *America* in general, during his late Agency at the Court of *Great Britain*, the same were this Day accordingly given in Form from the Chair. To which Mr. *Franklin*, respectfully addressing himself to the Speaker, made Answer, 'That he was thankful to the House, for the very handsome and generous Allowance they had been pleased to make him for his Services; but that the Approbation of this House was, in his Estimation, far above every other kind of Recompense.'" — *Votes*, 1763. — F.

deducted, and the Remainder called for? The Reason is, This Accusation was not then invented. Permit me to add, that supposing the whole *Eleven Thousand Pounds* an Expence occasioned by my Voyage to *England*, yet the Taxation of the Proprietary Estate now established, will, when valued by Years Purchase, be found in time an Advantage to the Public far exceeding that Expence. And, if the Expence is at present a Burthen, the Odium of it ought to lie on those, who, by their Injustice, made the Voyage necessary, and not on me, who only submitted to the Orders of the House in undertaking it.

I am now to take Leave (perhaps a last Leave) of the Country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my Life. *Esto perpetua.* I wish every kind of Prosperity to my Friends; and I forgive my Enemies.

B. FRANKLIN.

Philadelphia, Nov. 5, 1764.

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381. TO ANTHONY TODD[1] (P. R. O.)

Philadelphia, Novr 6, 1764

SIR: — Col Bouquet marched from Pittsburgh the 4th of October, with 1,500 men, down the Ohio, to attack the Shawana Towns; the Peace made by Col. Bradstreet at Presquisle not being confirmed. We have not since heard from either of those armies. I am, etc.,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] P. R. O. A. W. I. 197. — ED.

382. TO SARAH FRANKLIN

Reedy Island, 7 at night, November 8, 1764.

MY DEAR SALLY,

We got down here at sunset, having taken in more live stock at Newcastle, with some other things we wanted. Our good friends, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Wharton, and Mr. James, came with me in the ship from Chester to Newcastle and went ashore there. It was kind to favour me with their good company as far as they could. The affectionate leave taken of me by so many friends at Chester was very endearing. God bless them and all Pennsylvania.

My dear child, the natural prudence and goodness of heart God has blest you with make it less necessary for me to be particular in giving you advice. I shall therefore only say, that the more attentively dutiful and tender you are towards your good mamma, the more you will recommend yourself to me. But why should I mention *me*, when you have so much higher a promise in the commandments, that such conduct will recommend you to the favour of God. You know I have many enemies, all indeed on the public account, (for I cannot recollect that I have in a private capacity given just cause of offence to any one whatever,) yet they are enemies, and very bitter ones; and you must expect their enmity will extend in some degree to you, so that your slightest indiscretions will be magnified into crimes, in order the more sensibly to wound and afflict me. It is therefore the more necessary for you to be extremely circumspect in all your behaviour, that no advantage may be given to their malevolence.

Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer Book is your principal business there, and if properly attended to, will do more towards amending the heart than sermons generally can do. For they were composed by men of much greater piety and wisdom, than our common composers of sermons can pretend to be; and therefore I wish you would never miss the prayer days; yet I do not mean you should despise sermons, even of the preachers you dislike, for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth. I am the more particular on this head, as you seemed to express a little before I came away some inclination to leave our church, which I would not have you do.

For the rest, I would only recommend to you in my absence, to acquire those useful accomplishments, arithmetic and book-keeping. This you might do with ease, if you would resolve not to see company on the hours you set apart for those studies.

We expect to be at sea to-morrow, if this wind holds; after which I shall have no opportunity of writing to you, till I arrive (if it please God I do arrive) in England. I pray that his blessing may attend you, which is worth more than a thousand of mine, though they are never wanting. Give my love to your brother and sister,[1] as I cannot write to them, and remember me affectionately to the young ladies your friends, and to our good neighbours. I am, my dear child, your affectionate father,

B. FRANKLIN.

[1] William Franklin, governor of New Jersey, and his wife. — ED.

383. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

Saint Helen's Road, Isle of Wight,
Dec. 9. 1764 5 P. M.

MY DEAR DEBBY,

This Line is just to let you know that we have this moment come to an Anchor here, and that I am going ashore at Portsmouth, and hope to be in London on Tuesday Morning. No Father could have been tenderer to a Child, than Capt. Robinson has been to me, for which I am greatly oblig'd to Messrs. James and Drinker; but we have had terrible Weather, and I have often been thankful that our dear Sally was not with me. Tell our Friends that din'd with us on the Turtle that the kind Prayer they then put up for thirty Days fair Wind for me was favourably heard and answered, we being just 30 Days from Land to Land.

I am, Thanks to God, very well and hearty. John has behav'd well to me, and so has everybody on board. Thank all my Friends for their Favours, which contributed so much to the Comfort of my Voyage. I have not time to name Names: You know whom I love and honour. Say all the proper Things for me to everybody. Love to our Children, and to my dear Brother and Sister. I am, dear Debby, your ever loving Husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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384. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London Dec. 27. 1764

MY DEAR CHILD

I have just heard that a Ship which left London before I arriv'd is still at Portsmouth and that a Letter may reach

her. I can only write a Line or two, just to let you know that I am now almost well, tho' for 10 or 12 Days I have been severely handled by a most violent Cold, that has worried me extreamly. — Those of my old Friends who were in town, have given me a most cordial Welcome, but many are yet in the Country, the Parliament not meeting till the 10th of next Month; so nothing has occur'd to be worth a Letter to my other Friends, but I shall however write them per Packet. My Love to our Children, and all that kindly enquire after

Your affectionate Husband

B. FRANKLIN

Mrs. Stevenson desires
her Compliments.—

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385. A

NARRATIVE

OF THE LATE MASSACRES,

IN LANCASTER COUNTY,

OF A

NUMBER OF INDIANS, FRIENDS OF THIS PROVINCE,

BY PERSONS UNKNOWN.

WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAME.

Printed in the Year
MDCCLXIV.

THESE *Indians* were the Remains of a Tribe of the *Six Nations*, settled at *Conestogoe*, and thence called *Conestogoe Indians*. On the first Arrival of the *English* in *Pennsyl-*

vania, Messengers from this Tribe came to welcome them, with Presents of Venison, Corn, and Skins; and the whole Tribe entered into a Treaty of Friendship with the first Proprietor, William Penn, which was to last "as long as the Sun should shine, or the Waters run in the Rivers."

This Treaty has been since frequently renewed, and the *Chain brightened*, as they express it, from time to time. It has never been violated, on their Part or ours, till now. As their Lands by Degrees were mostly purchased, and the Settlements of the White People began to surround them, the Proprietor assigned them lands on the Manor of *Conestogoe*, which they might not part with; there they have lived many years in Friendship with their White Neighbours, who loved them for their peaceable inoffensive Behaviour.

It has always been observed, that *Indians*, settled in the Neighbourhood of White People, do not increase, but diminish continually. This Tribe accordingly went on diminishing, till there remained in their Town on the Manor, but 20 persons, viz. 7 Men, 5 Women, and 8 Children, Boys and Girls.

Of these, *Shehaes* was a very old Man, having assisted at the second Treaty held with them, by Mr. Penn, in 1701, and ever since continued a faithful and affectionate Friend to the *English;* He is said to have been an exceeding good Man, considering his Education, being naturally of a most kind, benevolent Temper.

Peggy was *Shehaes's* Daughter; she worked for her aged Father, continuing to live with him, though married, and attended him with filial Duty and Tenderness.

John was another good old Man; his Son *Harry* helped to support him.

George and *Will Soc* were two Brothers, both young Men.

John Smith, a valuable young Man of the *Cayuga* Nation, who became acquainted with *Peggy*, *Shehaes's* Daughter, some few Years since, married her, and settled in that Family. They had one Child, about three Years old.

Betty, a harmless old Woman; and her son *Peter*, a likely young Lad.

Sally, whose *Indian* name was *Wyanjoy*, a Woman much esteemed by all that knew her, for her prudent and good Behaviour in some very trying situations of Life. She was a truly good and an amiable Woman, had no Children of her own, but, a distant Relation dying, she had taken a Child of that Relation's, to bring up as her own, and performed towards it all the Duties of an affectionate Parent.

The Reader will observe, that many of their Names are *English*. It is common with the *Indians* that have an affection for the *English*, to give themselves, and their Children, the Names of such *English* Persons as they particularly esteem.

This little Society continued the Custom they had begun, when more numerous, of addressing every new Governor, and every Descendant of the first Proprietor, welcoming him to the Province, assuring him of their Fidelity, and praying a Continuance of that Favour and Protection they had hitherto experienced. They had accordingly sent up an Address of this Kind to our present Governor, on his Arrival; but the same was scarce delivered, when the unfortunate Catastrophe happened, which we are about to relate.

On *Wednesday*, the 14th of *December*, 1763, Fifty-seven Men, from some of our Frontier Townships, who had projected the Destruction of this little Commonwealth, came,

all well mounted, and armed with Firelocks, Hangers and Hatchets, having travelled through the Country in the Night, to *Conestogoe* Manor. There they surrounded the small Village of *Indian* Huts, and just at Break of Day broke into them all at once. Only three Men, two Women, and a young Boy, were found at home, the rest being out among the neighbouring White People, some to sell the Baskets, Brooms and Bowls they manufactured, and others on other Occasions. These poor defenceless Creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to Death! The good *Shehaes*, among the rest, cut to Pieces in his Bed. All of them were scalped and otherwise horribly mangled. Then their Huts were set on Fire, and most of them burnt down. When the Troop, pleased with their own Conduct and Bravery, but enraged that any of the poor *Indians* had escaped the Massacre, rode off, and in small Parties, by different Roads, went home.

The universal Concern of the neighbouring White People on hearing of this Event, and the Lamentations of the younger *Indians*, when they returned and saw the Desolation, and the butchered half-burnt Bodies of their murdered Parents and other Relations, cannot well be expressed.

The Magistrates of *Lancaster* sent out to collect the remaining *Indians*, brought them into the Town for their better Security against any farther Attempt; and it is said condoled with them on the Misfortune that had happened, took them by the Hand, comforted and *promised them Protection.* They were all put into the Workhouse, a strong Building, as the Place of greatest Safety.

When the shocking News arrived in Town, a Proclamation was issued by the Governor, in the following Terms, viz.

"WHEREAS I have received Information, that on *Wednesday*, the Fourteenth Day of this Month, a Number of People, armed, and mounted on Horseback, unlawfully assembled together, and went to the *Indian* Town in the *Conestogoe* Manor, in *Lancaster County*, and without the least Reason or Provocation, in cool Blood, barbarously killed six of the *Indians* settled there, and burnt and destroyed all their Houses and Effects: And whereas so cruel and inhuman an Act, committed in the Heart of this Province on the said *Indians*, who have lived peaceably and inoffensively among us, during all our late Troubles, and for many Years before, and were justly considered as under the Protection of this Government and its Laws, calls loudly for the vigorous Exertion of the civil Authority, to detect the Offenders, and bring them to condign Punishment; I have therefore, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Council, thought fit to issue this Proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and enjoin all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Constables, Officers Civil and Military, and all other His Majesty's liege Subjects within this Province, to make diligent Search and Enquiry after the Authors and Perpetrators of the said Crime, their Abettors and Accomplices, and to use all possible Means to apprehend and secure them in some of the publick Goals of this Province, that they may be brought to their Trials, and be proceeded against according to Law.

"And whereas a Number of other *Indians*, who lately lived on or near the Frontiers of this Province, being willing and desirous to preserve and continue the ancient Friendship, which heretofore subsisted between them and the good People of this Province, have, at their own earnest Request, been removed from their Habitations, and brought into the

County of *Philadelphia* and seated for the present, for their better Security, on the *Province Island*, and in other places in the Neighbourhood of the City of *Philadelphia*, where Provision is made for them at the public Expence; I do therefore hereby strictly forbid all Persons whatsoever, to molest or injure any of the said *Indians*, as they will answer the contrary at their Peril.

"*Given under my Hand, and the Great Seal of the said Province, at* Philadelphia, *the Twenty-second Day of* December, *Anno Domini One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-three, and in the Fourth Year of His Majesty's Reign.*

"JOHN PENN.

"*By his Honour's Command,*

"JOSEPH SHIPPEN, *Jun., Secretary.*

"God save the King."

Notwithstanding this Proclamation, those cruel Men again assembled themselves, and hearing that the remaining fourteen *Indians* were in the Workhouse at *Lancaster*, they suddenly appeared in that Town, on the 27th of *December*. Fifty of them, armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the Workhouse, and by Violence broke open the Door, and entered with the utmost Fury in their Countenances. When the poor Wretches saw they had *no Protection* nigh, nor could possibly escape, and being without the least Weapon for Defence, they divided into their little Families, the Children clinging to the Parents; they fell on their Knees, protested their Innocence, declared their Love to the *English*, and that, in their whole Lives, they had never done them Injury; and in this Posture they all received the Hatchet! Men, Women and little Children were every one inhumanly murdered! — in cold Blood!

The barbarous Men who committed the atrocious Fact, in defiance of Government, of all Laws human and divine, and to the eternal Disgrace of their Country and Colour, then mounted their Horses, huzza'd in Triumph, as if they had gained a Victory, and rode off — *unmolested!*

The Bodies of the Murdered were then brought out and exposed in the Street, till a Hole could be made in the Earth to receive and cover them.

But the Wickedness cannot be covered, the Guilt will lie on the whole Land, till Justice is done on the Murderers. THE BLOOD OF THE INNOCENT WILL CRY TO HEAVEN FOR VENGEANCE.

It is said that, *Shehaes* being before told, that it was to be feared some *English* might come from the Frontier into the Country, and murder him and his People; he replied, "It is impossible: there are *Indians*, indeed, in the Woods, who would kill me and mine, if they could get at us, for my Friendship to the *English;* but the *English* will wrap me in their Matchcoat, and secure me from all Danger." How unfortunately was he mistaken!

Another Proclamation has been issued, offering a great Reward for apprehending the Murderers, in the following Terms, *viz.*

"WHEREAS on the Twenty-second Day of *December* last, I issued a Proclamation for the apprehending and bringing to Justice, a Number of Persons, who, in Violation of the Public Faith, and in Defiance of all Law, had inhumanly killed six of the *Indians*, who had lived in *Conestogoe* Manor, for the Course of many Years, peaceably and inoffensively, under the Protection of this Government, on Lands assigned

to them for their Habitation; notwithstanding which, I have received Information, that on the Twenty-seventh of the same Month, a large Party of armed Men again assembled and met together in a riotous and tumultuous Manner, in the County of *Lancaster*, and proceeded to the Town of *Lancaster*, where they violently broke open the Workhouse, and butchered and put to Death fourteen of the said *Conestogoe Indians*, Men, Women and Children, who had been taken under the immediate Care and Protection of the Magistrates of the said County, and lodged for their better Security in the said Workhouse, till they should be more effectually provided for by Order of the Government; and whereas common Justice loudly demands, and the Laws of the Land (upon the Preservation of which not only the Liberty and Security of every Individual, but the Being of the Government itself depend) require, that the above Offenders should be brought to condign Punishment; I have therefore, by and with the Advice of the Council, published this Proclamation, and do hereby strictly charge and command all Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, Constables, Officers Civil and Military, and all other His Majesty's faithful and liege Subjects within this Province, to make diligent Search and Enquiry after the Authors and Perpetrators of the said last-mentioned Offence, their Abettors and Accomplices, and that they use all possible Means to apprehend and secure them in some of the public Goals of this province, to be dealt with according to Law.

"And I do hereby further promise and engage, that any Person or Persons, who shall apprehend and secure, or cause to be apprehended and secured, any Three of the Ringleaders of the said Party, and prosecute them to Con-

viction, shall have and receive for each, the public Reward of *Two Hundred Pounds;* and any Accomplice, not concerned in the immediate shedding the Blood of the said *Indians*, who shall make Discovery of any or either of the said Ringleaders, and apprehend and prosecute them to Conviction, shall, over and above the said Reward, have all the Weight and Influence of the Government, for obtaining His Majesty's Pardon for his Offence.

"*Given under my Hand, and the Great Seal of the said Province, at* Philadelphia, *the Second Day of January, in the Fourth Year of His Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty-four.*

"JOHN PENN.

"By his Honour's command,

"JOSEPH SHIPPEN, Jun., *Secretary.*

"God save the King."

These Proclamations have as yet produced no Discovery; the Murderers having given out such Threatenings against those that disapprove their Proceedings, that the whole Country seems to be in Terror, and no one durst speak what he knows; even the Letters from thence are unsigned, in which any Dislike is expressed of the Rioters.

There are some, (I am ashamed to hear it,) who would extenuate the enormous Wickedness of these Actions, by saying, "The Inhabitants of the Frontiers are exasperated with the Murder of their Relations, by the Enemy *Indians*, in the present War." It is possible;—but though this might justify their going out into the Woods, to seek for those Enemies, and avenge upon them those Murders, it can

never justify their turning into the Heart of the Country, to murder their Friends.

If an *Indian* injures me, does it follow that I may revenge that Injury on all *Indians?* It is well known, that *Indians* are of different Tribes, Nations and Languages, as well as the White People. In *Europe*, if the *French*, who are White People, should injure the *Dutch*, are they to revenge it on the *English*, because they too are White People? The only Crime of these poor Wretches seems to have been, that they had a reddish-brown Skin, and black Hair; and some People of that Sort, it seems, had murdered some of our Relations. If it be right to kill Men for such a Reason, then, should any Man, with a freckled Face and red Hair, kill a Wife or Child of mine, it would be right for me to revenge it, by killing all the freckled red-haired Men, Women and Children, I could afterwards anywhere meet with.

But it seems these People think they have a better Justification; nothing less than the *Word of God.* With the Scriptures in their Hands and Mouths, they can set at nought that express Command, *Thou shalt do no Murder;* and justify their Wickedness by the Command given *Joshua* to destroy the Heathen. Horrid Perversion of Scripture and of Religion! To father the worst of Crimes on the God of Peace and Love! Even the *Jews*, to whom that particular Commission was directed, spared the *Gibeonites*, on Account of their Faith once given. The Faith of this Government has been frequently given to those *Indians;* but that did not avail them with People who despise Government.

We pretend to be *Christians*, and, from the superior Light we enjoy, ought to exceed *Heathens, Turks, Saracens, Moors, Negroes* and *Indians*, in the Knowledge and Practice of

what is right. I will endeavour to show, by a few Examples from Books and History, the Sense those People have had of such Actions.

Homer wrote his Poem, called the *Odyssey*, some Hundred Years before the Birth of Christ. He frequently speaks of what he calls not only *the Duties*, but *the Sacred Rites of Hospitality*, (exercised towards Strangers, while in our House or Territory) as including, besides all the common Circumstances of Entertainment, full Safety and Protection of Person, from all Danger of Life, from all Injuries, and even Insults. The Rites of Hospitality were called *sacred*, because the Stranger, the Poor, and the Weak, when they applied for Protection and Relief, were, from the Religion of those Times, supposed to be sent by the Deity to try the Goodness of Men, and that he would avenge the Injuries they might receive, where they ought to have been protected. These Sentiments therefore influenced the Manners of all Ranks of People, even the meanest; for we find that when *Ulysses* came, as a poor Stranger, to the Hut of Eumæus, the Swineherd, and his great Dogs ran out to tear the ragged Man, *Eumæus* drave them away with Stones; and

> "'Unhappy Stranger!' (thus the faithful Swain
> Began, with Accent gracious and humane,)
> 'What Sorrow had been mine, if at *my* Gate
> Thy rev'rend Age had met a shameful Fate!
> But enter this my homely Roof, and see
> Our Woods not void of Hospitality.'
> He said, and seconding the kind Request,
> With friendly Step precedes the unknown Guest,
> A shaggy Goat's soft Hide beneath him spread,
> And with fresh Rushes heap'd an ample Bed.
> Joy touch'd the Hero's tender Soul, to find
> So just Reception from a Heart so kind:

And Oh, ye Gods! with all your Blessings grace'
(He thus broke forth) 'this Friend of human Race!
The Swain reply'd. It never was our guise
To slight the Poor, or aught humane despise.
For Jove unfolds the hospitable Door,
'T is Jove that sends the Stranger and the Poor."

These Heathen People thought, that after a Breach of the Rites of Hospitality, a Curse from Heaven would attend them in every thing they did, and even their honest Industry in their Callings would fail of Success. Thus when *Ulysses* tells *Eumæus*, who doubted the Truth of what he related, "If I deceive you in this, I should deserve Death, and I consent that you should put me to Death;" *Eumæus* rejects the Proposal, as what would be attended with both Infamy and Misfortune, saying ironically,

"Doubtless, O Guest! great Laud and Praise were mine,
If, after social Rites and Gifts bestow'd,
I stain'd my Hospitable Hearth with Blood.
How would the Gods my righteous Toils succeed,
And bless the Hand that made a Stranger bleed?
No more." ——

Even an open Enemy, in the Heat of Battle, throwing down his Arms, submitting to his Foe, and asking Life and Protection, was supposed to acquire an immediate Right to that Protection. Thus one describes his being saved, when his Party was defeated;

"We turn'd to Flight; the gath'ring Vengeance spread
On all Parts round, and Heaps on Heaps lie dead.
The radiant Helmet from my Brows unlac'd,
And lo, on Earth my Shield and Javelin cast,
I meet the Monarch with a Suppliant's Face,
Approach his Chariot, and his Knees embrace.
He heard, he sav'd, he plac'd me at his Side;
My State he pity'd, and my Tears he dry'd;

Restrain'd the Rage the vengeful Foe express'd,
And turn'd the deadly Weapons from my Breast.
Pious to guard the Hospitable Rite,
And fearing Jove, whom Mercy's Works delight."

The Suitors of *Penelope* are by the same ancient Poet described as a sett of lawless Men, who were *regardless of the sacred Rites of Hospitality.* And therefore when the Queen was informed they were slain, and that by *Ulysses*, she, not believing that *Ulysses* was returned, says,

"Ah no! some God the Suitors Deaths decreed,
Some God descends, and by his Hand they bleed:
Blind, to contemn the Stranger's righteous Cause,
And violate all hospitable Laws!
. . . . . The Powers they defy'd;
But Heav'n is just, and by a God they dy'd."

Thus much for the Sentiments of the ancient *Heathens*. As for the *Turks*, it is recorded in the Life of *Mahomet*, the Founder of their Religion, That *Khaled*, one of his Captains, having divided a Number of Prisoners between himself and those that were with him, he commanded the Hands of his own Prisoners to be tied behind them, and then, in a most cruel and brutal Manner, put them to the Sword; but he could not prevail on his Men to massacre *their* Captives, because in Fight they had laid down their Arms, submitted, and demanded Protection. *Mahomet*, when the Account was brought to him, applauded the Men for their Humanity; but said to *Khaled*, with great Indignation, "Oh *Khaled*, thou Butcher, cease to molest me with thy Wickedness. If thou possessedst a Heap of Gold as large as Mount Obod, and shouldst expend it all in God's Cause, thy Merit would not efface the Guilt incurred by the Murder of the meanest of those poor Captives."

Among the *Arabs* or *Saracens*, though it was lawful to put to Death a Prisoner taken in Battle, if he had made himself obnoxious by his former Wickedness, yet this could not be done after he had once eaten Bread, or drank Water, while in their Hands. Hence we read in the History of the Wars of the *Holy Land*, that when the *Franks* had suffered a great Defeat from *Saladin*, and among the Prisoners were the King of *Jerusalem*, and *Arnold*, a famous Christian Captain, who had been very cruel to the *Saracens;* these two being brought before the Soltan, he placed the King on his right Hand, and *Arnold* on his left; and then presented the King with a Cup of Water, who immediately drank to *Arnold;* but when *Arnold* was about to receive the Cup, the Soltan interrupted, saying, "I will not suffer this wicked Man to drink, as that, according to the laudable and generous Custom of the *Arabs*, would secure him his Life."

That the same laudable and generous Custom still prevails among the *Mahometans*, appears from the Account but last Year published of his Travels by Mr. *Bell*, of *Antermony*, who accompanied the Czar, *Peter* the *Great*, in his Journey to *Derbent* through *Daggestan*. "The Religion of the *Daggestans*," says he, "is generally *Mahometan*, some following the Sect of *Osman*, others that of *Haly*. Their Language for the most Part is *Turkish*, or rather a Dialect of the *Arabic*, though many of them speak also the *Persian* Language. One Article I cannot omit concerning their Laws of Hospitality, which is, if their greatest Enemy comes under their Roof for Protection, the Landlord, of what Condition soever, is obliged to keep him safe, from all Manner of Harm or Violence, during his Abode with him, and even to conduct him safely through his Territories to a Place of Security."

From the *Saracens* this same Custom obtained among the *Moors* of *Africa;* was by them brought into *Spain*, and there long sacredly observed. The *Spanish* Historians record with Applause one famous Instance of it. While the *Moors* governed there, and the *Spaniards* were mixed with them, a *Spanish* Cavalier, in a sudden Quarrel, slew a young *Moorish* Gentleman, and fled. His Pursuers soon lost Sight of him, for he had, unperceived, thrown himself over a Garden Wall. The Owner, a *Moor*, happening to be in his Garden, was addressed by the *Spaniard* on his Knees, who acquainted him with his Case, and implored Concealment. "Eat this," said the *Moor*, giving him Half a Peach; "you now know that you may confide in my Protection." He then locked him up in his Garden Apartment, telling him, that as soon as it was Night he would provide for his Escape to a Place of more Safety. The *Moor* then went into his House, where he had scarce seated himself, when a great Croud, with loud Lamentations, came to his Gate, bringing the Corps of his Son, that had just been killed by a *Spaniard*. When the first Shock of Surprize was a little over, he learnt, from the Description given, that the fatal Deed was done by the Person then in his Power. He mentioned this to no One; but as soon as it was dark, retired to his Garden Apartment, as if to grieve alone, giving Orders that none should follow him. There accosting the *Spaniard*, he said, "Christian, the Person you have killed is my Son: his Body is now in my House. You ought to suffer; but you have eaten with me, and I have given you my Faith, which must not be broken. Follow me." He then led the astonished *Spaniard* to his Stables, mounted him on one of his fleetest Horses, and said, "Fly far while the Night can cover you. You will be safe in the

Morning. You are indeed guilty of my Son's Blood; but God is just and good, and I thank him that I am innocent of yours, and that my Faith given is preserved."

The *Spaniards* caught from the *Moors* this *Punto* of Honour, the Effects of which remain, in a great Degree, to this Day. So that when there is Fear of a War about to break out between *England* and *Spain*, an *English* Merchant there, who apprehends the Confiscation of his Goods as the Goods of an Enemy, thinks them safe, if he can get a *Spaniard* to take Charge of them; for the *Spaniard* secures them as his own, and faithfully redelivers them, or pays the Value, whenever the *Englishman* can safely demand it.

Justice to that Nation, though lately our Enemies, and hardly yet our cordial Friends, obliges me, on this Occasion, not to omit mentioning an Instance of *Spanish* Honour. which cannot but be still fresh in the Memory of many yet living. In 1746, when we were in hot War with *Spain*, the *Elizabeth*, of *London*, Captain *William Edwards*, coming through the Gulph from *Jamaica*, richly laden, met with a most violent Storm, in which the Ship sprung a Leak, that obliged them, for the Saving of their Lives, to run her into the *Havannah*. The Captain went on Shore, directly waited on the Governor, told the Occasion of his putting in, and that he surrendered his Ship as a Prize, and himself and his Men as Prisoners of War, only requesting good Quarter. "No, Sir," replied the *Spanish* Governor; "if we had taken you in fair War at Sea, or approaching our Coast with hostile Intentions, your Ship would then have been a Prize, and your People Prisoners. But when distressed by a Tempest, you come into our Ports for the Safety of your Lives, we, though Enemies, being Men, are bound as such, by the Laws of

Humanity to afford Relief to distressed Men, who ask it of us. We cannot, even against our Enemies, take Advantage of an Act of God. You have Leave therefore to unload your ship, if that be necessary, to stop the Leak; you may refit here, and traffick so far as shall be necessary to pay the Charges; you may then depart, and I will give you a Pass, to be in Force till you are beyond *Bermuda*. If after that you are taken, you will then be a Prize; but now you are only a Stranger, and have a Stranger's Right to Safety and Protection." The Ship accordingly departed and arrived safe in *London*.

Will it be permitted me to adduce, on this Occasion, an Instance of the like Honour in a poor unenlightened *African Negroe*. I find it in Capt. *Seagrave's* Account of his Voyage to *Guinea*. He relates that a *New England* Sloop, trading there in 1752, left their second Mate, *William Murray*, sick on Shore, and sailed without him. *Murray* was at the House of a Black, name *Cudjoe*, with whom he had contracted an Acquaintance during their Trade. He recovered, and the Sloop being gone, he continued with his black Friend, till some other Opportunity should offer of his getting home. In the mean while, a *Dutch* Ship came into the Road, and some of the Blacks going on board her were treacherously seized and carried off as Slaves. Their Relations and Friends, transported with sudden Rage, ran to the House of *Cudjoe* to take Revenge, by killing *Murray*. *Cudjoe* stopped them at the Door, and demanded what they wanted? "The White Men," said they, "have carried away our Brothers and Sons, and we will kill all White Men; give us the White Man that you keep in your House, for we will kill him." "Nay," said *Cudjoe*, "the White Men that carried away

your Brothers are bad Men, kill them when you can catch them; but this White Man is a good Man, and you must not kill him." "But he is a White Man," they cried; "the White Men are all bad, and we will kill them all." "Nay," says he, "you must not kill a Man, that has done no Harm, only for being white. This Man is my Friend, my House is his Fort, and I am his Soldier. I must fight for him. You must kill me, before you can kill him. What good Man will ever come again under my Roof, if I let my Floor be stained with a good Man's Blood!" The *Negroes*, seeing his Resolution, and being convinced by his Discourse that they were wrong, went away ashamed. In a few Days *Murray* ventured abroad again with *Cudjoe*, when several of them took him by the Hand, and told him they were glad they had not killed him; for, as he was a good (meaning an innocent) Man, *their God would have been angry, and would have spoiled their Fishing.* "I relate this," says Captain *Seagrave*, "to show, that some among these dark People have a strong Sense of Justice and Honour, and that even the most brutal among them are capable of feeling the Force of Reason, and of being influenced by a Fear of God (if the Knowledge of the true God could be introduced among them,) since even the Fear of a false God, when their Rage subsided, was not without its good Effect."

Now I am about to mention something of *Indians*, I beg that I may not be understood as framing Apologies for *all Indians*. I am far from desiring to lessen the laudable Spirit of Resentment in my Countrymen against those now at War with us, so far as it is justified by their Perfidy and Inhumanity. I would only observe, that the *Six Nations*, as a Body, have kept Faith with the *English* ever since we

knew them, now near an Hundred Years; and that the governing Part of those People have had Notions of Honour, whatever may be the Case with the Rum-debauched, Trader-corrupted Vagabonds and Thieves on the *Sasquehannah* and *Ohio*, at present in Arms against us. As a Proof of that Honour, I shall only mention one well-known recent Fact. When six *Catawba* Deputies, under the Care of Colonel *Bull*, of *Charlestown*, went by Permission into the *Mohawks* Country, to sue for and treat of Peace for their Nation, they soon found the *Six Nations* highly exasperated, and the Peace at that Time impracticable: They were therefore in Fear for their own Persons, and apprehended that they should be killed in their Way back to *New York;* which being made known to the *Mohawk Chiefs* by Colonel *Bull*, one of them, by Order of the Council, made this Speech to the *Catawbas;*

"Strangers and Enemies,

"While you are in this Country, blow away all Fear out of your Breasts; change the black Streak of Paint on your Cheek for a red One, and let your Faces shine with Bear's Grease: You are safer here than if you were at home. The *Six Nations* will not defile their own Land with the Blood of Men that come unarmed to ask for Peace. We shall send a Guard with you, to see you safe out of our Territories. So far you shall have Peace, but no farther. Get home to your own Country, and there take Care of yourselves, for there we intend to come and kill you."

The *Catawbas* came away unhurt accordingly.

It is also well known, that just before the late War broke out, when our Traders first went among the *Piankeshaw*

Indians, a Tribe of the *Twightwees*, they found the Principle of giving Protection to Strangers in full Force; for, the *French* coming with their *Indians* to the *Piankeshaw* Town, and demanding that those Traders and their Goods should be delivered up; the *Piankeshaws* replied, the *English* were come there upon their Invitation, and they could not do so base a Thing. But the *French* insisting on it, the *Piankeshaws* took Arms in Defence of their Guests, and a Number of them, with their old Chief, lost their Lives in the Cause; the *French* at last prevailing by superior Force only.

I will not dissemble that numberless Stories have been raised and spread abroad, against not only the poor Wretches that are murdered, but also against the Hundred and Forty christianized *Indians*, still threatned to be murdered; all which Stories are well known, by those who know the *Indians* best, to be pure Inventions, contrived by bad People, either to excite each other to join in the Murder, or since it was committed, to justify it; and believed only by the Weak and Credulous. I call thus publickly on the Makers and Venders of these Accusations to produce their Evidence. Let them satisfy the Public that even *Will Soc*, the most obnoxious of all that Tribe, was really guilty of those Offences against us which they lay to his Charge. But if he was, ought he not to have been fairly tried? He lived under our Laws, and was subject to them; he was in our Hands, and might easily have been prosecuted; was it *English Justice* to condemn and execute him unheard? Conscious of his own Innocence, he did not endeavour to hide himself when the Door of the Workhouse, his Sanctuary, was breaking open. "I will meet them," says he, "for they are my

Brothers." These Brothers of his shot him down at the Door, while the Word Brothers was between his Teeth.

But if *Will Soc* was a bad Man, what had poor old *Shehaes* done? What could he or the other poor old Men and Women do? What had little Boys and Girls done? What could Children of a Year old, Babes at the Breast, what could they do, that they too must be shot and hatcheted? Horrid to relate! And in their Parents Arms! This is done by no civilized Nation in *Europe*. Do we come to *America* to learn and practise the Manners of *Barbarians?* But this, *Barbarians* as they are, they practise against their Enemies only, not against their Friends.

These poor People have been always our Friends. Their Fathers received ours, when Strangers here, with Kindness and Hospitality. Behold the Return we have made them! When we grew more numerous and powerful, they put themselves under our *Protection.* See, in the mangled Corpses of the last Remains of the Tribe, how effectually we have afforded it to them!

Unhappy People! to have lived in such Times, and by such Neighbours! We have seen, that they would have been safer among the ancient *Heathens*, with whom the Rites of Hospitality were *sacred.* They would have been considered as *Guests* of the Publick, and the Religion of the Country would have operated in their Favour. But our Frontier People call themselves *Christians!* They would have been safer, if they had submitted to the *Turks;* for ever since *Mahomet's* Reproof to *Khaled*, even the cruel *Turks* never kill Prisoners in cold Blood. These were not even Prisoners. But what is the Example of *Turks* to Scripture *Christians?* They would have been safer, though they had been taken

in actual War against the *Saracens*, if they had once drank Water with them. These were not taken in War against us, and have drank with us, and we with them, for Fourscore Years. But shall we compare *Saracens* to *Christians?*

They would have been safer among the *Moors* in *Spain*, though they had been Murderers of Sons; if Faith had once been pledged to them, and a Promise of Protection given. But these have had the Faith of the *English* given to them many Times by the Government, and, in Reliance on that Faith, they lived among us, and gave us the Opportunity of murdering them. However, what was honourable in *Moors*, may not be a Rule to us; for we are *Christians!* They would have been safer it seems among *Popish Spaniards*, even if Enemies, and delivered into their Hands by a Tempest. These were not Enemies; they were born among us, and yet we have killed them all. But shall we imitate *idolatrous Papists*, we that are *enlightened Protestants?* They would have even been safer among the *Negroes* of *Africa*, where at least one manly Soul would have been found, with Sense, Spirit and Humanity enough, to stand in their Defence. But shall *Whitemen* and *Christians* act like a *Pagan Negroe?* In short it appears, that they would have been safe in any Part of the known World, except in the Neighbourhood of the CHRISTIAN WHITE SAVAGES of *Peckstang* and *Donegall!*

O, ye unhappy Perpetrators of this horrid Wickedness! reflect a Moment on the Mischief ye have done, the Disgrace ye have brought on your Country, on your Religion, and your Bible, on your Families and Children! Think on the Destruction of your captivated Country-folks (now

among the wild *Indians*) which probably may follow, in Resentment of your Barbarity! Think on the Wrath of the United *Five Nations*, hitherto our Friends, but now provoked by your murdering one of their Tribes, in Danger of becoming our bitter Enemies. Think of the mild and good Government you have so audaciously insulted; the Laws of your King, your Country, and your God, that you have broken; the infamous Death that hangs over your Heads; for Justice, though slow, will come at last. All good People everywhere detest your Actions. You have imbrued your Hands in innocent Blood; how will you make them clean? The dying Shrieks and Groans of the Murdered, will often sound in your Ears: Their Spectres will sometimes attend you, and affright even your innocent Children! Fly where you will, your Consciences will go with you. Talking in your Sleep shall betray you, in the Delirium of a Fever you yourselves shall make your own Wickedness known.

One Hundred and Forty peaceable *Indians* yet remain in this Government. They have, by *Christian* Missionaries, been brought over to a *Liking*, at least, of our Religion; some of them lately left their Nation which is now at War with us, because they did not chuse to join with them in their Depredations; and to shew their Confidence in us, and to give us an equal Confidence in them, they have brought and put into our Hands their Wives and Children. Others have lived long among us in *Northampton* County, and most of their Children have been born there. These are all now trembling for their Lives. They have been hurried from Place to Place for Safety, now concealed in Corners, then sent out of the Province, refused a Passage through a neigh-

bouring Colony, and returned, not unkindly perhaps, but disgracefully, on our Hands. O *Pennsylvania!* Once renowned for Kindness to Strangers, shall the Clamours of a few mean Niggards about the Expence of this *Publick Hospitality*, an Expence that will not cost the noisy Wretches *Sixpence* a Piece, (and what is the Expence of the poor Maintenance we afford them, compared to the Expence they might occasion if in Arms against us) shall so senseless a Clamour, I say, force you to turn out of your Doors these unhappy Guests, who have offended their own Countryfolks by their Affection for you, who, confiding in your Goodness, have put themselves under your Protection? Those whom you have disarmed to satisfy groundless Suspicions, will you leave them exposed to the armed Madmen of your Country? Unmanly Men! who are not ashamed to come with Weapons against the Unarmed, to use the Sword against Women, and the Bayonet against young Children; and who have already given such bloody Proofs of their Inhumanity and Cruelty.

Let us rouze ourselves, for Shame, and redeem the Honour of our Province from the Contempt of its Neighbours; let all good Men join heartily and unanimously in Support of the Laws, and in strengthening the Hands of Government; that JUSTICE may be done, the Wicked punished, and the Innocent protected; otherwise we can, as a People, expect no Blessing from Heaven; there will be no Security for our Persons or Properties; Anarchy and Confusion will prevail over all; and Violence without Judgment, dispose of every Thing.

When I mention the Baseness of the Murderers, in the Use they made of Arms, I cannot, I ought not to forget, the

very different Behaviour of *brave Men* and *true Soldiers*, of which this melancholy Occasion has afforded us fresh Instances. The *Royal Highlanders* have, in the Course of this War, suffered as much as any other Corps, and have frequently had their Ranks thinn'd by an *Indian* Enemy; yet they did not for this retain a brutal undistinguishing Resentment against *all Indians*, Friends as well as Foes. But a Company of them happening to be here, when the 140 poor *Indians* above mentioned were thought in too much Danger to stay longer in the Province, chearfully undertook to protect and escort them to *New York*, which they executed (as far as that Government would permit the *Indians* to come) with Fidelity and Honour; and their captain *Robinson*, is justly applauded and honoured by all sensible and good People, for the Care, Tenderness and Humanity, with which he treated those unhappy Fugitives, during their March in this severe Season.

General *Gage*, too, has approved of his Officer's Conduct, and, as I hear, ordered him to remain with the *Indians* at *Amboy*, and continue his Protection to them, till another Body of the King's Forces could be sent to relieve his Company, and escort their Charge back in Safety to *Philadelphia*, where his Excellency has had the Goodness to direct those Forces to remain for some Time, under the Orders of our Governor, for the Security of the *Indians;* the Troops of this Province being at present necessarily posted on the Frontier. Such just and generous Actions endear the Military to the Civil Power, and impress the Minds of all the Discerning with a still greater Respect for our national Government. I shall conclude with observing, that *Cowards* can handle Arms, can strike where they are sure to meet

with no Return, can wound, mangle and murder; but it belongs to *brave* Men to spare and to protect; for, as the Poet says,

"Mercy still sways the Brave."

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386. PETITION TO THE KING, (L. C.)

FOR CHANGING THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA INTO A ROYAL GOVERNMENT.[1]

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, IN COUNCIL,

The Petition of the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met,

Most humbly sheweth;

That the Government of this Province by Proprietaries has by long Experience been found inconvenient, attended with many Difficulties and Obstructions to your Majesty's Service, arising from the Intervention of Proprietary private Interests in publick Affairs and Disputes concerning those Interests.

That the said Proprietary Government is weak, unable to support its own Authority, and maintain the common internal Peace of the Province; great Riots have lately arisen therein, armed Mobs marching from Place to Place, and committing violent Outrages and Insults on the Government with Impunity, to the great Terror of your Majesty's Subjects. And these Evils are not likely to receive any

[1] Drafted by Dr. Franklin, and adopted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1764. — ED.

Remedy here, the continual Disputes between the Proprietaries and People, and their mutual Jealousies and Dislikes preventing.

We do, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to resume the Government of this Province, making such Compensation to the Proprietaries for the same as to your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness shall appear just and equitable, and permitting your dutiful Subjects therein to enjoy under your Majesty's more immediate Care and Protection, the Privileges that have been granted to them by and under your Royal Predecessors.

Signed By order of the House.

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387. PREFACE TO

THE SPEECH OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY, ESQ;

ONE OF THE MEMBERS FOR PHILADELPHIA COUNTY:

In Answer

TO THE SPEECH OF JOHN DICKINSON, ESQ; DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, MAY 24, 1764. ON OCCASION OF A PETITION DRAWN UP BY ORDER, AND THEN UNDER THE CONSIDERATION OF THE HOUSE; PRAYING HIS MAJESTY FOR A ROYAL, IN LIEU OF A PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

Audi et alteram Partem

Philadelphia:
Printed and sold by W. Dunlap, in Market-Street.
MDCCLXIV.

While the petition to the King for a royal government in Pennsylvania was under discussion in the Assembly, Mr. John Dickinson made a speech against it, which was printed in a pamphlet, with a long preface by another hand. Mr. Galloway published a reply, entitled, "The Speech of Joseph Galloway, One of the Members for Philadelphia County, in Answer to the Speech of John Dickinson, delivered in the House of Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, May 24th, 1764." To this reply was prefixed the following Preface, written by Dr. Franklin. — ED.

IT is not merely because Mr. *Dickinson's* Speech was usher'd into the World by a *Preface*, that one is made to this of Mr. *Galloway*. But as in that Preface a Number of Aspersions were thrown on our Assemblies, and their Proceedings grossly misrepresented, it was thought necessary to wipe those Aspersions off, by some proper Animadversions; and by a true State of Facts, to rectify those Misrepresentations.

The Preface begins with saying, that "Governor *Denny* whose Administration will never be mentioned but with Disgrace, in the Annals of this Province, was induced by *Considerations* to which the World is *now* no Stranger, to pass sundry Acts," &c., thus insinuating, that by some unusual base Bargain secretly made but afterwards discover'd, he was induc'd to pass them.

It is fit, therefore, without undertaking to justify all that Governor's Administration, to shew what those Considerations were. Ever since the Revenue of the Quitrents first, and after that the Revenue of Tavern-Licenses, were settled irrevocably on our Proprietaries and Governors, they have look'd on those Incomes as their proper Estate, for which they were under no Obligations to the People: And when they afterwards concurr'd in passing any useful Laws, they considered them as so many Jobbs, for which they ought

to be particularly paid. Hence arose the Custom of Presents twice a Year to the Governors, at the close of each Session in which Laws were past, given at the Time of Passing. They usually amounted to a Thousand Pounds per Annum. But when the Governors and Assemblies disagreed, so that Laws were not pass'd, the Presents were withheld. When a Disposition to agree ensu'd, there sometimes still remain'd some Diffidence. The Governors would not pass the Laws that were wanted, without being sure of the Money, even all that they call'd their Arrears; nor the Assemblies give the Money without being sure of the Laws. Thence the Necessity of some private Conference, in which, mutual Assurances of good Faith might be receiv'd and given, that the Transactions should go hand in hand. What Name the impartial Reader will give to this Kind of Commerce, I cannot say: To me it appears, an Extortion of more Money from the People, for that to which they had before an undoubted Right, both by the Constitution and by Purchase: But there was no other Shop they could go to for the Commodity they wanted, and they were oblig'd to comply. Time establish'd the Custom, and made it seem honest; so that our Governors, even those of the most undoubted Honor, have practis'd it.

Governor *Thomas*, after a long Misunderstanding with the Assembly, went more openly to work with them in managing this Commerce and they with him. The Fact is curious, as it stands recorded in the Votes of 1742–3. Sundry Bills sent up to the Governor for his Assent had lain long in his Hands without any Answer. Jan. 4. The House "Ordered, That *Thomas Leech*, and *Edward Warner*, wait upon the Governor, and acquaint him, that the House had long waited for his Result on the Bills that lie before him, and

desire to know when they may expect it." The Gentlemen return and report, "That they waited upon the Governor, and delivered the Message of the House according to Order, and that the Governor was pleased to say, 'He had had the Bills long under Consideration, and *waited the Result* of the House.'" The House well understood this Hint; and immediately resolv'd into a Committee of the whole House, to take what was called *the Governor's support* into Consideration, in which they made, the Minutes say, *some Progress;* and the next Morning it appears, that that *Progress*, whatever it was, had been communicated to him; for he sent them down this Message by his Secretary; "Mr. Speaker, The Governor commands me to acquaint you, that as he has received Assurances of a *good Disposition* in the House, he thinks it incumbent on him to shew *the like* on his Part; and therefore sends down the Bills, which lay before him, without any Amendment."

As this Message only *shew'd a good Disposition*, but contain'd no Promise to pass the Bills; the House seem to have had their Doubts; and, therefore, *February 2*, when they came to resolve, on the Report of the Grand Committee, to give the Money, they guarded their Resolves very cautiously, viz, "Resolved, That *on the Passage* of such Bills as now lie before the Governor, the Naturalization Bill, and such other Bills as may be presented to him, during this Sitting, there be PAID him the Sum of *Five Hundred Pounds.* Resolved also, That *on the Passage* of such Bills as now lie before the Governor, the Naturalization Bill, and such other Bills as may be presented to him this Sitting, there be PAID to the Governor the further Sum of *One Thousand Pounds*, for the current Year's Support; and that Orders be drawn

on the Treasurer and Trustees of the Loan-Office, pursuant to these Resolves." The Orders were accordingly drawn, with which being acquainted, he appointed a Time to pass the Bills which was done with one Hand, while he received the Orders in the other; and then with the utmost politeness, thank'd the House for the Fifteen Hundred Pounds, as if it had been a *pure Free Gift*, and a mere mark of their Respect and Affection. "*I thank you*, Gentlemen," (says he) "for this *Instance* of *your Regard;* which I am the more pleased with, as it gives an agreeable Prospect of *future Harmony* between me and the Representatives of the People."

This, Reader, is an exact Counterpart of the Transaction with Governor *Denny;* except that *Denny* sent Word to the House, that he would pass the Bills *before* they voted the *Support.* And yet *here* was no Proprietary Clamour about Bribery, &c. And why so? Why, at that Time, the Proprietary Family, by Virtue of a secret Bond they had obtained of the Governor at his Appointment, were to share with him the Sums so obtained of the People!

This Reservation of the Proprietaries they were at that Time a little asham'd of, and therefore such Bonds were then to be Secrets. But as in every kind of Sinning, frequent Repetition lessens Shame, and increases Boldness, we find the Proprietaries ten Years afterwards, openly insisting on these Advantages to themselves, over and above what was *paid* to their Deputy: "Wherefore," (say they,)[1] "on this Occasion, it is necessary that we should inform the People, through yourselves, their Representatives, that as, by the Constitution, our Consent is necessary to their Laws, at the same Time that they have an *undoubted Right* to such as are neces-

[1] That is, to the assembly. — V.

sary for the Defence and real Service of the Country; so it will tend the better to *facilitate* the several Matters which *must* be transacted with us, for their Representatives to shew a *Regard to us* and our *Interest.*".

This was in their Answer to the Representation of the Assembly, (*Votes, December*, 1754, p. 48,) on the Justice of their contributing to *Indian* Expences, which they had refused. And on this Clause the Committee make the following Remark; "They tell us, their Consent is *necessary* to our *Laws*, and that it will tend the better to *facilitate* the Matters which *must* be transacted with them, for the Representatives to shew a Regard to their INTEREST: That is, as we understand it, though the Proprietaries have a Deputy here, supported by the Province, who is, or ought to be, fully impower'd to pass all Laws *necessary for the Service of the Country*, yet, before we can obtain such Laws, we must *facilitate their Passage*, by paying Money for the Proprietaries, which they ought to pay, or in some Shape make it their *particular* INTEREST to pass them. We hope, however, that, if this Practice has ever been *begun*, it will never be *continued* in this Province; and that, since, as this very Paragraph allows, we have an *undoubted Right* to such Laws, we shall always be able to obtain them from the Goodness of our Sovereign, without going to Market for them to a Subject." Time has shewn that those Hopes were vain; they have been oblig'd to go to that Market ever since, directly, or indirectly, or go without their Laws. The Practice has continued, and will continue, as long as the Proprietary Government subsists, intervening between the Crown and the People.

Do not, my courteous Reader, take Pet at our Proprietary

Constitution, for these our Bargain and Sale Proceedings in Legislation. 'Tis a happy Country where Justice, and what was your own before, can be had for Ready Money. 'Tis another Addition to the Value of Money, and of Course another Spur to Industry. Every Land is not so bless'd. There are Countries where the princely Proprietor claims to be Lord of all Property; where what is your own shall not only be wrested from you, but the Money you give to have it restor'd, shall be kept with it, and your offering so much, being a Sign of your being too rich, you shall be plunder'd of every Thing that remain'd. These Times are not come here yet: Your present Proprietors have never been more unreasonable hitherto, than barely to insist on your Fighting in Defence of their Property, and paying the Expence yourselves; or if their estates must, (ah! *must*) be tax'd towards it, that the *best* of their Lands shall be tax'd no higher than the *worst* of yours.

Pardon this Digression, and I return to Governor *Denny;* but first let me do Governor *Hamilton* the Justice to observe, that whether from the Uprightness of his own Disposition, or from the odious Light the Practice had been set in on *Denny's* Account, or from both, he did not attempt these Bargains, but pass'd such Laws as he thought fit to pass, without any previous Stipulation of *Pay* for them. But then, when he saw the Assembly tardy in the Payment he expected, and yet calling upon him still to pass *more Laws*, he openly put them in Mind of the Money, as a *Debt* due to him from Custom. "In the Course of the present Year," (says he, in his Message of July 8, 1763) "a great Deal of public Business hath been transacted by me; and I believe, as many useful *Laws enacted*, as by any of my Predecessors

with no Return, can wound, mangle and murder; but it belongs to *brave* Men to spare and to protect; for, as the Poet says,

"Mercy still sways the Brave."

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386. PETITION TO THE KING, (L. C.)

FOR CHANGING THE PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA INTO A ROYAL GOVERNMENT.[1]

To the King's most excellent Majesty, in Council,

The Petition of the Representatives of the Freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met,

Most humbly sheweth;

That the Government of this Province by Proprietaries has by long Experience been found inconvenient, attended with many Difficulties and Obstructions to your Majesty's Service, arising from the Intervention of Proprietary private Interests in publick Affairs and Disputes concerning those Interests.

That the said Proprietary Government is weak, unable to support its own Authority, and maintain the common internal Peace of the Province; great Riots have lately arisen therein, armed Mobs marching from Place to Place, and committing violent Outrages and Insults on the Government with Impunity, to the great Terror of your Majesty's Subjects. And these Evils are not likely to receive any

[1] Drafted by Dr. Franklin, and adopted by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1764. — Ed.

Remedy here, the continual Disputes between the Proprietaries and People, and their mutual Jealousies and Dislikes preventing.

We do, therefore, most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to resume the Government of this Province, making such Compensation to the Proprietaries for the same as to your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness shall appear just and equitable, and permitting your dutiful Subjects therein to enjoy under your Majesty's more immediate Care and Protection, the Privileges that have been granted to them by and under your Royal Predecessors.

Signed By order of the House.

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387. PREFACE TO

THE SPEECH OF JOSEPH GALLOWAY, ESQ;

ONE OF THE MEMBERS FOR PHILADELPHIA COUNTY:

In Answer

TO THE SPEECH OF JOHN DICKINSON, ESQ; DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, MAY 24, 1764. ON OCCASION OF A PETITION DRAWN UP BY ORDER, AND THEN UNDER THE CONSIDERATION OF THE HOUSE; PRAYING HIS MAJESTY FOR A ROYAL, IN LIEU OF A PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT.

Audi et alteram Partem

Philadelphia:
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MDCCLXIV.

these good Gentlemen may themselves be sometimes as *wrong* in opposing, as the Assembly in enacting Laws. But the Words *fundamentally* WRONG and UNJUST are the great Fund of Triumph to the *Proprietaries* and their Partizans. These their subsequent Governors have unmercifully dinn'd in the Ears of the Assembly on all occasions ever since, for they make a Part of near a Dozen of their Messages. They have rung the Changes on those Words, till they have work'd them up to say that the Law was *fundamentally wrong and unjust* in Six several Articles; (*Governor's Message*, May 17th, 1764,) instead of "ought to be repealed, unless six Alterations or Amendments could be made therein." A Law unjust in six several Articles, must be an unjust Law indeed; Let us therefore once for all, examine this unjust Law, Article by Article, in order to see whether our Assemblies have been such Villains as they are represented.

The first Particular in which their Lordships propos'd the Act should be amended, was, "That the real Estates to be tax'd, be *defined with Precision*, so as not to include the unsurveyed waste Land belonging to the Proprietaries." This was at most, but an *Obscurity* to be cleared up. And tho' the Law might well appear to their Lordships incertain in that Particular; with us, who better know our own Customs, and that the Proprietaries waste unsurveyed Land, was never here considered among Estates real, subject to Taxation, there was not the least Doubt or Supposition, that such Lands were included in the Words, "all Estates real and personal." The Agents therefore, knowing that the Assembly had no intention to tax those Lands, might well suppose they would readily agree to remove the Obscurity.

Before we go farther, let it be observ'd, That the main

Design of the Proprietaries, in opposing this Act, was, to prevent their estates being tax'd at all. But as they knew that the Doctrine of *Proprietary Exemption*, which they had endeavoured to enforce here, could not be supported there, they bent their whole Strength against the Act on other Principles to procure its Repeal, pretending great willingness to submit to an equitable Tax; but that the Assembly, out of mere Malice, because they had conscientiously quitted *Quakerism* for the Church! were wickedly determin'd to ruin them, to tax all their unsurvey'd Wilderness Lands, and at the highest Rates, and by that Means exempt themselves and the People, and throw the whole Burden of the War on the Proprietary Family.

How foreign these Charges were from the Truth, need not be told to any Man in *Pennsylvania*. And as the Proprietors knew, that the Hundred Thousand Pounds of paper money, struck for the defence of their enormous Estates, with others, was actually issued, spread thro' the Country, and in the Hands of Thousands of poor People, who had given their Labor for it, how base, cruel, and inhuman it was, to endeavour, by a Repeal of the Act, to strike the Money dead in those Hands at one Blow, and reduce it all to Waste Paper, to the utter Confusion of all Trade and Dealings, and the Ruin of Multitudes, merely to avoid paying their own just Tax! — Words may be wanting to express, but Minds will easily conceive, and never without Abhorrence!

The second Amendment propos'd by their Lordships was, "That the located uncultivated Lands belonging to the Proprietaries shall not be assessed higher than the lowest Rate, at which any located uncultivated Lands belonging to the Inhabitants shall be assessed." Had there been any Pro-

vision in the Act, that the Proprietaries Lands and those of the People, of the same Value, should be taxed differently, the one high, and the other low, the Act might well have been call'd in this Particular *fundamentally wrong and unjust.* But as there is no such Clause, this cannot be one of the Particulars on which the Charge is founded; but, like the first, is merely a Requisition to make the Act *clear*, by express Directions therein, that the Proprietaries Estate should not be, as they pretended to believe it would be, tax'd higher in proportion to its Value, than the Estates of others. As to their present Claim, founded on that Article, "that the *best and most valuable* of their Lands, should be tax'd no higher than the *worst and least valuable* of the People's," it was not then thought of; they made no such Demand; nor did any one dream, that so iniquitous a Claim would ever be made by Men who had the least Pretence to the Characters of *Honorable* or *Honest.*

The third Particular was, "That all Lands not granted by the Proprietaries within Boroughs and Towns, be deemed located uncultivated Lands, and rated accordingly, and not as Lots." The Clause in the Act that this relates to, is, "And whereas many valuable *Lots* of Ground within the City of *Philadelphia*, and the several Boroughs and Towns within this Province, remain unimproved; Be it enacted, &c., That *all* such unimproved *Lots* of Ground within the City and Boroughs aforesaid, shall be rated and assessed, according to their Situation and Value, for and towards raising the Money hereby granted." The Reader will observe, that the word is *all* unimproved Lots, and that *all* comprehends the Lots belonging to the People, as well as those of the Proprietary. There were many of the former, and a Number belonging even

to Members of the then Assembly; and considering the Value, the Tax must be proportionably as grievous to them, as the Proprietary's to him.

Is there among us a single Man, even a Proprietary Relation, Officer, or Dependant, so insensible of the Differences of Right and Wrong, and so confus'd in his notions of just and unjust, as to think and say, that the Act in this Particular, was fundamentally *wrong* and *unjust?* I believe not one. What then, could their Lordships mean by the propos'd Amendment? Their Meaning is easily explain'd. The Proprietaries have considerable Tracts of *Land* within the Bounds of Boroughs and Towns, that have not yet been divided into Lots: They pretended to believe, that by Virtue of this Clause, an imaginary Division would be made of those Lands into Lots, and an extravagant Value set on such imaginary Lots, greatly to their Prejudice: It was answered, that no such Thing was intended by the Act; and that by *Lots*, was meant only such Ground as had been surveyed and divided into Lots, and not the open undivided Lands. If this only is intended, say their Lordships, then let the Act be amended, so as clearly to express what is intended. This is the full Amount of the third Particular. How the Act was understood here, is well known by the Execution of it, before the Dispute came on in *England;* and therefore before their Lordships' Opinion on the Point could be given; of which full Proof shall presently be made. In the mean Time it appears, that the Act was not *on this* Account *fundamentally wrong and unjust.*

The fourth Particular is, "That the Governor's Consent and Approbation be made necessary to every Issue and Application of the Money to be raised by Virtue of such Act."

The Assembly intended this, and tho't they had done it in the Act. The Words of the Clause being, "That [the Commissioners named] or the major Part of them, or of the Survivors of them, *with the Consent* and *Approbation* of the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of this Province, for the Time being, shall order and appoint the Disposition of the Monies arising by Virtue of this Act, for and towards paying and cloathing two Thousand seven Hundred effective Men," &c. It was understood here, that as the Power of disposing was expressly to be *with* the Consent and Approbation of the Governor, the Commissioners had no Power to dispose of the Money *without* that Approbation. But their Lordships, jealous (as their Station requires) of this Prerogative of the Crown, and being better acquainted with the Force and Weakness of Law Expression, did not think the Clause explicit enough, unless the words "*and not otherwise*" were added, or some other Words equivalent. This Particular, therefore, was no more than another Requisition of greater Clearness and Precision, and by no Means a Foundation for the Charge of *fundamentally wrong and unjust.*

The fifth Particular was, "That Provincial Commissioners be named to hear and determine Appeals, brought on the Part of the Inhabitants, as well as the Proprietaries." There was already subsisting a Provision for the Appointment of County Commissioners of Appeal, by whom the Act might be, and actually has been, as we shall presently shew, justly and impartially executed, with Regard to the Proprietaries; but Provincial Commissioners, appointed in the Act, it was thought might be of Use in regulating and equalizing the Modes of Assessment of different Counties, where they were unequal; and, by affording a second Appeal, tend more to the

Satisfaction both of the Proprietaries and the People. This Particular was therefore a mere proposed Improvement of the Act, which could not be, and was not, in that respect, denominated *fundamentally wrong and unjust.*

We have now gone thro' five of the six proposed Amendments, without discovering any Thing on which that Censure could be founded; but the sixth remains, which points at a Part of the Act, wherein we must candidly acknowledge there is something, that, in their Lordships' View of it, must justify their Judgment: The Words of the 6th Article are, "That the Payments by the Tenants to the Proprietaries of their Rents, shall be according to the Terms of their respective Grants; as if such Act, had never been passed." This relates to that Clause of the Act, by which the Paper Money was made a legal Tender in "Discharge of all Manner of Debts, Rents, Sum and of Sums of Money whatsoever, &c., at the Rates ascertained in the Act of Parliament made in the sixth of Queen *Anne.*"

From the great Injustice frequently done to Creditors, and complain'd of from the Colonies, by the vast Depreciation of Paper Bills, it was become a general fixed Principle with the Ministry, that such Bills, whose Value, tho' fixed *in* the Act, could not be kept fixed *by* the Act, ought not to be made a legal Tender in any Colony, at those Rates. The Parliament had before passed an Act to take that Tender away in the four *New England* Colonies, and have since made the Act general. This was what their Lordships would therefore have proposed for the Amendment. But it being represented, That the chief Support of the Credit of the Bills, was the legal Tender, and that without it they would become of no Value; it was allowed generally to remain, with an Exception to the Pro-

prietaries' Rents, where there was a special Contract for Payment in another Coin. It cannot be denied, but that this was doing Justice to the Proprietaries, and that had the Requisition been in favour of all other Creditors also, the Justice had been equal, as being general. We do not therefore presume to impeach their Lordships Judgment, that the Act, as it enforced the Acceptance of Bills for Money at a Value which they had only nominally, and not really, was in that respect *fundamentally wrong and unjust.*

And yet we believe the Reader will not think the Assembly so much to blame, when he considers, That the making Paper Bills a legal Tender had been the universal Mode in *America* for more than threescore Years. That there was scarce a Colony, that had not practised that Mode, more or less. That it had always been thought absolutely necessary, in order to give the Bills a Credit, and thereby obtain from them the Uses of Money. That the Inconveniencies were therefore submitted to, for the Sake of the greater Conveniencies. That Acts innumerable of the like Kind had been approved by the Crown. And, that if the Assembly made the Bills a legal Tender at those Rates to the Proprietaries, they made them also a legal Tender to themselves, and all their Constituents, many of whom might suffer in their Rents, &c., as much, in proportion to their Estates, as the Proprietaries.

But if he cannot on these Considerations, quite excuse the Assembly, what will he think of those *Honourable* Proprietaries, who when Paper Money was issued in their Colony for the common Defence of their vast Estates, with those of the People, and who must therefore reap, at least, equal Advantages from those Bills with the People, could nevertheless *wish* to be exempted from their Share of the unavoidable Dis-

advantages. Is there upon Earth a Man besides, with any Conception of what is honest, with any Notion of Honor, with the least Tincture in his Veins of the Gentleman, but would have blush'd at the Thought; but would have rejected with Disdain such undue Preference, if it had been offered him? Much less would he have struggled for it, mov'd Heaven and Earth to obtain it, resolv'd to ruin Thousands of his Tenants by a Repeal of the Act, rather than miss of it,[1] and enforce it afterwards by an audaciously wicked Instruction, forbidding Aids to his King, and exposing the Province to Destruction, unless it was complied with. And yet, — These are *Honourable Men.*[2]

Here, then, we have had a full View of the Assembly's Injustice; about which there has been so much insolent Triumph! But let the Proprietaries and their discreet Deputies hereafter recollect and remember; that the same august Tribunal, which censured some of the Modes and Circumstances of that Act, did at the same Time establish and confirm the Grand Principle of the Act, viz., "That the Proprietary Estate ought, with other Estates, to be taxed:" And thereby did in Effect determine and pronounce, that

[1] This would have been done, and the Money all sunk in the Hands of the People, if the Agents, *Benjamin Franklin* and *Robert Charles*, had not interposed, and voluntarily, without Authority from the Assembly so to do, but at their own Risque, undertaken that those Amendments should be made, or that they themselves would indemnify the Proprietaries from any Damages they might sustain for want thereof. An Action which, as the Prefacer says in another Case, "Posterity perhaps may find a Name for." — F.

[2] It is not easy to guess from what Source our Proprietaries have drawn their Principles. Those who study Law and Justice, as a Science, have established it a Maxim in Equity, "Qui sentit commodum, sentire debet et onus." And so consistent is this with the *common* Sense of Mankind, that even our lowest untaught Coblers and Porters feel the Force of it in their own Maxim, (which *they* are *honest enough* never to dispute) "Touch Pot, touch Penny."

the Opposition so long made in various Shapes to that just Principle, by the Proprietaries, was *fundamentally* WRONG *and* UNJUST. An Injustice, they were not, like the Assembly, under any Necessity of committing for the public Good; or any other Necessity but what was impos'd on them by those base Passions that act the Tyrant in bad Minds, their *Selfishness*, their *Pride*, and their *Avarice*.

I have frequently mentioned the equitable Intentions of the House in those Parts of the Act that were suppos'd obscure, and how they were understood here. A clear Proof thereof is found, as I have already said, in the actual Execution of the Act; in the Execution of it before the Contest about it in *England*, and therefore before their Lordships' Objections to it had a Being. When the Report came over, and was laid before the House, one Year's Tax had been levied; and the Assembly, conscious that no Injustice had been intended to the Proprietaries, and willing to rectify it if any should appear, appointed a Committee of Members from the several Counties, to examine into the State of the Proprietaries' Taxes thro' the Province, and nominated on that Committee a Gentleman of known Attachment to the Proprietaries, and their Chief Justice, Mr. *Allen*, to the end that the strictest Enquiry might be made. Their Report was as follows;

"We, the Committee appointed to enquire into, and consider the State of the Proprietary Taxation thro' the several Counties, and report the same to the House, have, in pursuance of the said Appointment, carefully examined the Returns of Property, and compared them with the respective Assessments thereon made through the whole Province: and find,

"First, That no Part of the unsurveyed waste Lands belonging to the Proprietaries have, in any instance, been included in the Estates taxed.

"Secondly, That some of the located uncultivated Lands, belonging to the Proprietaries in several Counties, remains unassessed, and are not, in any County, assessed higher than the Lands under like Circumstances belonging to the Inhabitants.

"Thirdly, That all Lands not granted by the Proprietaries, within Boroughs and Towns, remain untaxed, excepting in a few Instances, and in those they are rated as low as the Lands which are granted in the said Boroughs and Towns.

"The whole of the Proprietary Tax of eighteen Pence in the Pound, amounts to £566 4*s.* 10*d.* And the Sum of the Tax on the Inhabitants for the same Year, amounts, thro' the several Counties, to £27,103 12*s.* 8*d.* And it is the Opinion of your Committee, that there has not been *any Injustice* done to the Proprietaries, or *Attempts made* to rate or assess *any Part* of their Estates *higher* than the Estates of the like Kind belonging to the Inhabitants, are rated and assessed; but on the contrary, we find, that their Estates are rated, in *many* Instances, *below* others.

"Thomas Leech,	George Ashbridge,
"Joseph Fox,	Emanuel Carpenter,
"Samuel Rhoads,	John Blackburn,
"Abraham Chapman,	William Allen."

The House communicated this Report to Governor *Hamilton*, when he afterwards pressed them to make the stipulated Act of Amendment; acquainting him at the same Time, that as in the Execution of the Act, no Injustice had hitherto been done to the Proprietary, so, by a Yearly Inspection of the Assessments, they would take Care that none should be done him; for that, if any should appear, or the Governor could at

any Time point out to them any that had been done, they would immediately rectify it; and, therefore, as the Act was shortly to expire, they did not think the Amendments necessary. Thus that Matter ended during that Administration.

And had his Successor, Governor Penn, permitted it still to sleep, we are of Opinion it had been more to the Honor of the Family, and of his own Discretion. But he was pleas'd to found upon it a Claim manifestly unjust, and which he was totally destitute of Reason to support. A Claim, that the Proprietaries' *best* and *most valuable* located uncultivated Lands should be taxed *no higher* than the *worst* and *least valuable* of those belonging to the Inhabitants: To enforce which, as he thought the Words of one of the Stipulations seem'd to give some Countenance to it, he insisted on using those very Words as sacred, from which he could "neither in *Decency* or in *Duty*," deviate, tho' he had agreed to deviate from Words of the same Report, and therefore equally sacred in every other Instance. A Conduct which will, as the Prefacer says in Governor *Denny's* case, for ever disgrace the Annals of his Administration.[1]

Never did any Administration open with a more *promising* Prospect. He assur'd the people, in his first Speeches, of the Proprietaries' paternal Regard for them, and their sincere Dispositions to do every Thing that might promote their Happiness. As the Proprietaries had been pleased to appoint a Son of the Family to the Government, it was thought not unlikely that there might be something in these Professions; for that they would probably chuse to have his Administration made easy and agreeable, and to that End might think it pru-

[1] For a fuller account of this Dispute, the Reader is referred to the Newspapers, and Votes of Assembly. — F.

dent to withdraw those harsh, disagreeable, and unjust Instructions, with which most of his Predecessors had been hamper'd.

The Assembly therefore believ'd fully, and rejoic'd sincerely. They show'd the new Governor every Mark of Respect and Regard that was in their Power. They readily and cheerfully went into every Thing he recommended to them. And when he and his Authority were insulted and indanger'd by a lawless murdering Mob, they and their Friends, took Arms at his Call, and form'd themselves round him for his Defence, and the Support of his Government.

But when it was found, that those mischievous Instructions still subsisted, and were even farther extended; when the Governor began, unprovok'd, to send the House affronting Messages, seizing every imaginary Occasion of reflecting on their Conduct; when every other Symptom appeared of fixt deep-rooted Family Malice, which could but a little while bear the unnatural Covering that had been thrown over it, what Wonder is it, if all the old Wounds broke out and bled afresh, if all the old Grievances, still unredressed, were recollected; if Despair succeeded of any Peace with a Family, that could make *such Returns* to all their Overtures of Kindness? And when, in the very Proprietary Council, compos'd of stanch Friends of the Family, and chosen for their Attachment to it, 'twas observed, that the *old Men* (1 Kings, Chap. 12.) withdrew themselves, finding their Opinion slighted, and that all Measures were taken by the Advice of two or three *young Men* (one of whom too denies his Share in them) is it any Wonder, since like Causes produce like Effects, if the Assembly, notwithstanding all their Veneration for the first Proprietor, should say, with the Children of *Israel* under the

same Circumstances, "What Portion have we in David, or Inheritance in the Son of Jesse? To your Tents, O Israel"!

Under these Circumstances, and a Conviction that while so many natural Sources of Difference subsisted between Proprietaries and People, no Harmony in Government could long subsist; without which, neither the Commands of the Crown could be executed, nor the public Good promoted; the House resum'd the Consideration of a Measure that had often been propos'd in former Assemblies; a Measure that every Proprietary Province in *America* had, from the same Causes, found themselves oblig'd to take, and had actually taken or were about to take; and a Measure that had happily succeeded wherever it was taken; I mean the Recourse to an immediate Royal government.

They therefore, after a thorough Debate, and making no less than twenty-five unanimous Resolves, expressing the many Grievances this Province had long laboured under, thro' the Proprietary Government; came to the following Resolution, viz. "Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this House will adjourn, in order to consult their Constituents, whether an humble Address should be drawn up and transmitted to his Majesty, praying, that he would be graciously pleased to take the People of this Province under his immediate Protection and Government, by compleating the Agreement heretofore made with the first Proprietary for the Sale of the Government to the Crown, or otherwise as to his Wisdom and Goodness shall seem meet." [1]

[1] These words, "by completing the Agreement," &c., are omitted by the honest Prefacer, in his Account of the Resolve, that they might not interfere with his Insinuation of the Measure's being impracticable; "Have the Proprietors, by any Act of theirs, forfeited the least tittle of what was granted them by his Majesty's Royal Ancestors? Or can they be *deprived* of their

This they ordered to be made public, and it was published accordingly in all the NewsPapers; the House then adjourn'd for no less than seven Weeks, to give their Constituents Time to consider the Matter, and themselves an Opportunity of taking their Opinion and Advice. Could any thing be more deliberate, more fair and open, or more respectful to the People that chose them? During this Recess, the People in many Places, held little Meetings with each other; the Result of which was, that they would manifest their Sentiments to their Representatives, by petitioning the Crown directly of themselves, and requesting the Assembly to transmit and support those Petitions. At the next Meeting many of these Petitions were delivered to the House with that Request; they were signed by a very great Number[1] of the most substantial Inhabitants, and not the least Intimation was receiv'd by the Assembly from any other of their Constituents, that the Measure was disapproved,

Charter Rights without their Consent?" &c. Sensible that these Questions are impertinent, if those Rights are already sold. — F.

[1] The Prefacer, with great Art, endeavours to represent this Number as insignificant. He says the Petitioners were but 3500, and that the Province contains near Three Hundred Thousand *Souls!* His Reader is to imagine that *Two Hundred and Ninety-Six Thousand Five Hundred* of them were apply'd to, and refus'd to sign it. The Truth is, that his Number of Souls is vastly exaggerated. The Dwelling-Houses in the Province, in 1752, did not exceed 20,000. Political Arithmeticians reckon generally but 5 Souls to a House, one House with another; and therefore, allowing for Houses since built, there are not probably more than a Hundred and ten Thousand Souls in the Province; That of these scarce 22,000 could with any Propriety be Petitioners. And considering the scatter'd Settlement of the Province; the general Inattention of Mankind, especially in new Countries, to public Affairs; and the indefatigable Pains taken by the Proprietaries' new Allies, the *Presbyterian* Clergy of *Philadelphia*, (who wrote circular Letters to every Congregation in the County, to deter them from petitioning, by dutiful Intimations, that if we were *reduc'd* to a Royal Government, it would be the "Ruin of the Province,") 'tis a Wonder the Number (near a sixth Part) was so great as

except in a Petition from an obscure Township in *Lancaster* County, to which there were about forty Names indeed, but all evidently signed by three Hands only.

What could the Assembly infer from this express'd Willingness of a Part, and Silence of the Rest; but that the Measure was universally agreeable? They accordingly resum'd the Consideration of it, and tho' a small, very small Opposition then appear'd to it in the House, yet as even that was founded, not on the Impropriety of the Thing, but on the suppos'd unsuitableness of the Time, or the Manner; and a Majority of nine tenths being still for it, a Petition was drawn agreeable to the former Resolve, and order'd to be transmitted to his Majesty.

But the Prefacer tells us, that these Petitioners for a Change were a "Number of *rash, ignorant,* and *inconsiderate* People," and generally of a *low Rank.* To be sure they were not of the Proprietary Officers, Dependants, or Expectants, and those are chiefly the People of *high Rank* among us; but they were otherwise generally Men of the best Estates in the Province, and Men of Reputation. The Assembly who come from all Parts of the Country, and therefore may be supposed to know them at least as well as the Prefacer, have given that Testimony of them. But what is the Testimony of the Assembly, who in his Opinion are equally *rash, ignorant,* and *inconsiderate* with the Petitioners? And if his Judgment is right, how *imprudently* and contrary to their *Charter* have his THREE HUNDRED THOU-

it was. But if there had been no such Petitions, it would not have been material to the Point. The Assembly went upon another Foundation. They had adjourned to consult their Constituents; they return'd satisfy'd that the Measure was agreeable to them, and nothing appear'd to the contrary. — F.

SAND SOULS acted in their Elections of Assembly men, these twenty Years past; for the Charter requires them to chuse Men of *most Note* for *Virtue*, *Wisdom*, and *Ability!*

But these are Qualities engross'd it seems, by the Proprietary Party. For they say, "The WISER and BETTER Part of the Province had far different Notions of this Measure; they *considered*, that the Moment they put their Hands to these Petitions they might be surrendering up their Birthright." I felicitate them on the *Honor* they have thus bestow'd upon themselves, on the *sincere* Compliments thus given and accepted, and on their having with such noble Freedom discarded the snivelling Pretence to Modesty, couch'd in that threadbare Form of Words, *Though we say it, that should not say it.* But is it not surprising, that during the seven Weeks' Recess of the Assembly, expressly to consult their Constituents on the Expediency of this Measure; and during the fourteen Days the House sat deliberating on it after they met again; these their *Wisdoms* and *Betternesses* should never be so kind as to communicate the least Scrap of their *Prudence*, their *Knowledge*, or their *Consideration* to their *rash*, *ignorant*, and *inconsiderate* Representatives? Wisdom in the Mind is not, like Money in the Purse, diminish'd by Communication to others. They might have lighted up our farthing Candles for us, without lessening the Blaze of their own Flambeaux. But they suffer'd our Representatives to go on in the Dark, till the fatal Deed was done, and the Petition sent to the King, praying him to take the Government of this Province into his immediate Care, whereby, if it succeeds, "our glorious Plan of public Liberty, and Charter Privileges is to be barter'd away," and we are to be made Slaves for ever! Cruel Parsimony! to refuse

the Charity of a little *Understanding*, when God had given you so much, and the Assembly begg'd it as an Alms. O, that you had but for once remember'd and observ'd the Counsel of that wise Poet, *Pope*, where he says,

> "Be Niggards of Advice on no Pretence;
> For the worst Avarice is that of Sense."

In the Constitution of our Government, and in that of one more, there still remains a Particular Thing that none of the other *American* Governments have, *to wit*, the Appointment of a Governor by the Proprietors, instead of an Appointment by the Crown. This Particular in Government has been found inconvenient, attended with Contentions and Confusions wherever it existed, and has therefore been gradually taken away from Colony after Colony, and everywhere greatly to the Satisfaction and Happiness of the People.

Our wise first Proprietor and Founder, was fully sensible of this, and being desirous of leaving his People happy, and preventing the Mischiefs that he foresaw must in time arise from that Circumstance, if it was continued, he determined to take it away, if possible, during his own Lifetime. They accordingly entred into a Contract, for the Sale of the Proprietary Right of Government to the Crown, and actually received a Sum in Part of the Consideration. As he found himself likely to die, before that Contract (and with it his Plan for the Happiness of his People) could be compleated; he carefully made it Part of his last Will and Testament, devising the Right of the Government to two Noble Lords, in Trust that they should release it to the Crown. Unfortunately for us, this has never yet been done. And this is merely what the Assembly now desire to have done.

Surely he that form'd our Constitution, must have understood it. If he had imagin'd, that all our Privileges depended on the Proprietary Government, will any one suppose that he would himself have meditated the Change, that he would have taken such effectual Measures, as he thought them, to bring it about speedily, whether he should live or die? Will any of those who now extol him so highly, charge him at the same time with the Baseness of endeavouring thus to defraud his People of all the Liberties and Privileges he had promised them, and by the most solemn Charters and Grants assur'd to them, when he engag'd them to assist him in the Settlement of his Province? Surely none can be so inconsistent! And yet this Proprietary Right of Governing or appointing a Governor, has, all of a sudden, chang'd its Nature; and the Preservation of it, become of so much Importance to the Welfare of the Province, that the Assembly's only Petitioning to have their venerable Founder's Will executed, and the Contract he entered into for the Good of his People completed, is stil'd, an "Attempt to violate the Constitution for which our Fathers planted a Wilderness; to barter away our glorious Plan of public Liberty and Charter Privileges; a risquing of the whole Constitution; an offering up our whole Charter Rights; a wanton sporting with Things sacred," &c.

Pleasant, surely it is, to hear the Proprietary Partizans, of all Men, bawling for the Constitution, and affecting a terrible concern for our Liberties and Privileges. They who have been, these twenty Years, cursing our Constitution, declaring that it was no Constitution, or worse than none; and that Things could never be well with us, 'till it was new modell'd, and made exactly conformable to the *British* Con-

stitution. They who have treated our distinguishing Privileges as so many Illegalities and Absurdities; who have solemnly declared in Print, that though such Privileges might be proper in the Infancy of a Colony, to encourage its Settlement, they became *unfit for it* in its grown State, and *ought to be taken away:* They, who by numberless Falshoods, propagated with infinite Industry, in the Mother Country, attempted to procure an Act of Parliament for the actual depriving a very great Part of the People of their Privileges. They too, who have already depriv'd the whole People, of some of their most important Rights, and are daily endeavouring to deprive them of the rest! Are these become Patriots, and Advocates for our Constitution? Wonderful Change! Astonishing Conversion! Will the Wolves then protect the Sheep, if they can but persuade 'em to give up their Dogs? Yes; the Assembly would destroy all their own Rights, and those of the People; and the Proprietary Partizans are become the Champions for Liberty! Let those who have *Faith*, now make Use of it: For 'tis rightly defin'd *the evidence of Things not seen*, certainly never was there more Occasion for such Evidence, the Case being totally destitute of all other.

It has been long observ'd, that Men are, with that Party, Angels or Demons, just as they happen to concur with or oppose their Measures. And I mention it for the Comfort of old Sinners, that in Politics, as well as in Religion, Repentance and Amendment, tho' late, shall obtain Forgiveness, and procure Favour. Witness the late Speaker, Mr. Norris, a steady and constant Opposer of all the Proprietary Encroachments, and who, for thirty Years past, they have been therefore continually abusing, allowing him no one

Virtue or good Quality whatsoever; but now, as he show'd some Unwillingness to engage in this present Application to the Crown, he is become all at once the *faithful Servant* — but let me look at the Text, to avoid Mistakes — and, indeed, I was mistaken. I thought it had been *faithful Servant of the Public*, but I find 'tis only *of the House*. Well chosen, that Expression, and prudently guarded. The former, from a Proprietary Pen, would have been Praise too much, only for disapproving the *Time* of the Application. Could you, much respected Sir, go but a little farther; and disapprove the Application itself; could you but say, the Proprietary Government is a good one, and ought to be continued; then might all your political Offences be done away, and your scarlet Sins become as Snow and Wool; then might you end your Course with (Proprietary) Honor. P—— should preach your funeral Sermon, and S——, the Poisoner of other Characters, embalm your Memory. But those Honors you will never receive; for, with returning Health and Strength, you will be found in your old Post, firm for your Country.

There is Encouragement too for young Sinners. Mr. *Dickenson*, whose Speech our Prefacer has introduc'd to the World, tho' long hated by some, and disregarded by the rest, of the Proprietary Faction, is at once, for the same Reason as in Mr. *Norris's* Case, become a *Sage* in the Law, and an *Oracle* in Matters relating to our Constitution. I shall not endeavour to pluck so much as a Leaf from these the young Gentleman's Laurels. I would only advise him carefully to preserve the Panegyrics with which they have adorn'd him: In time they may serve to console him, by balancing the Calumny they shall load him with, when he

does not go *through* with them in all their Measures: He will not probably do the one, and they will then assuredly do the other. There are Mouths that can blow hot as well as cold, and blast on your Brows the Bays their Hands have plac'd there. *Experto crede Roberto.* Let but the Moon of Proprietary Favour, withdraw its Shine for a Moment, and that "*great Number* of the *principal Gentlemen* of *Philadelphia,*" who apply'd to you for the Copy of your Speech, shall immediately despise and desert you.

"Those *principal Gentlemen!*" what a Pity it is that their Names were not given us in the Preface, together with their admirable Letter! We should then have known where to run for Advice, on all Occasions. We should have known who to chuse for our future Representatives. For undoubtedly these were they that are elsewhere called "the WISER and BETTER Part of the Province." None but their *Wisdoms* could have known beforehand, that a Speech which they never heard, and a Copy of which they had never seen, but were then requesting to see, was "*a spirited Defence,*" and "of our Charter Privileges;" and that "the Publication of it would be of great Utility, and give general Satisfaction." No inferior Sagacity could discover, that the Appointment of a Governor by the Proprietor, was one of our "Charter Privileges;" and that those, who oppos'd the Application for a Royal Government, were therefore *Patriot Members*, appearing *on the Side* of our Privileges and our Charter!

Utterly to confound the Assembly, and shew the Excellence, of Proprietary Government, the Prefacer has extracted from their own Votes, the Praises they have from time to time bestow'd on the first Proprietor, in their Addresses to his Sons. And tho' Addresses are not generally the best Reposi-

tories of Historical Truth, we must not in this Instance deny their Authority.[1]

[1] In the Preface to Dickinson's Speech, the following character of William Penn was inserted, every phrase in which was taken, as the writer said, from the minutes of the assembly. — ED.

"WILLIAM PENN,
A man of principles truly humane,
An advocate for
Religion and Liberty,
Possessing a noble spirit,
That exerted itself
For the good of mankind,
Was
The great and worthy founder
Of
Pennsylvania.
To its inhabitants, by Charter,
He granted and confirmed
Many singular Privileges and Immunities,
Civil and religious;
Which he continually studied
To preserve and defend for them,
Nobly declaring,
That they had not followed him so far
To lose a single tittle
Of the Great Charter
To which all Englishmen were born!
For these services,
Great have been the acknowledgments
Deservedly paid to his merit;
And his memory
Is dear to his people,
Who have repeatedly confessed,
That,
Next to Divine Providence,
Their happiness, prosperity, and increase
Are owing
To his wise conduct and singular goodness,
Which deserve ever to be remembered,
With
Gratitude and Affection,
By Pennsylvanians."

That these Encomiums on the Father, tho' sincere, have occur'd so frequently, was owing, however, to two Causes; first, a vain Hope the Assemblies entertain'd, that the Father's Example, and the Honors done his Character, might influence the Conduct of the Sons; secondly, for that in attempting to compliment the Sons on their own Merits, there was always found an extreme Scarcity of Matter. Hence, *the Father, the honored and honorable Father*, was so often repeated, that the Sons themselves grew sick of it; and have been heard to say to each other with Disgust, when told that A. B. and C. were come to wait upon them with Addresses on some public Occasion, "*Then I suppose we shall hear more about our Father.*" So that, let me tell the Prefacer, who perhaps was unacquainted with this Anecdote, that if he hop'd to curry more Favor with the Family, by the Inscription he has fram'd for that great Man's Monument, he may find himself mistaken; for, — there is too much in it of *our Father.*

If therefore, he would erect a Monument to the Sons, the Votes of Assembly, which are of such Credit with him, will furnish him with ample Materials for his Inscription.

To save him Trouble, I will essay a Sketch for him, in the Lapidary Style, tho' mostly in the Expressions, and everywhere in the Sense and Spirit of the Assembly's Resolves and Messages.

Be this a Memorial
Of T—— and R—— P——,
P—— of P——,[1]
Who, with Estates immense,
Almost beyond Computation,
When their own Province,
And the whole *British* Empire,

[1] That is, Thomas and Richard Penn, Proprietors of Pennsylvania. — ED.

Were engag'd in a bloody and most expensive War,
Begun for the Defence of those Estates,
Could yet meanly desire
To have those very Estates
Totally or Partially
Exempted from Taxation,
While their Fellow-Subjects all around them,
Groan'd
Under the universal Burthen.
To gain this Point,
They refus'd the necessary Laws
For the Defence of their People,
And suffer'd their Colony to welter in its Blood,
Rather than abate in the least
Of these their dishonest Pretensions.
The Privileges granted by their Father,
Wisely and benevolently
To encourage the first Settlers of the Province,
They,
Foolishly and cruelly,
Taking Advantage of public Distress,
Have extorted from the Posterity of those Settlers;
And are daily endeavouring to reduce them
To the most abject Slavery:
Tho' to the Virtue and Industry of those People
In improving their Country,
They owe all that they possess and enjoy.
A striking Instance
Of human Depravity and Ingratitude;
And an irrefragable Proof,
That Wisdom and Goodness
Do not descend with an Inheritance;
But that ineffable Meanness
May be connected with unbounded Fortune.[1]

What then avails it to the Honor of the present Proprietors, that our Founder, and their Father, gave us Privileges, if they, the Sons, will not permit us the Use of them, or

[1] Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 1754, *passim*; 1755, 1756, 1757, *passim*; 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, 1763, 1764, *passim*. — F.

forcibly rend them from us? *David* may have been a Man after God's own Heart, and *Solomon* the wisest of Proprietors and Governors; but if *Rehoboam* will be a tyrant and a ——, who can secure him the Affections of the People! The Virtue and Merit of his Ancestors may be very great; but his Presumption in depending on these *alone*, may be much greater.

I lamented a few Pages ago, that we were not acquainted with the Names of those "*principal* Gentlemen the *wiser* and *better* Part of the Province." I now rejoice that we are likely some time or other to know them; for a Copy of a Petition to the King is now before me; which, from its similarity with their Letter, must be of their inditing, and will probably be recommended to the People, by their leading up the Signing.

On this Petition I shall take the Liberty of making a few Remarks, as they will save me the Necessity of following farther the Preface, the Sentiments of this and that being nearly the same.

It begins with a formal Quotation from the Petition,[1] which they own they have not seen, and of Words that are not in it, and after relating very imperfectly and unfairly, the Fact relating to their Application for a Copy of it, which is of no Importance; proceeds to set forth, "That —— As we and all your *American* Subjects must be governed by Persons authorized and approved by your Majesty, on the best Recommendation that can be obtained of them, we *cannot perceive* our Condition in this Respect to be different from our Fellow-Subjects around us, or that we are thereby less under your Majesty's particular Care and Protection,

[1] The petition of the assembly to the King for a Royal Government. — Ed.

than they are, since there can be no Governors of this Province without your Majesty's *immediate Approbation* and *Authority*."

Such a *Declaration* from the *wiser* Part of the Province, is really a little surprizing. What! when Disputes concerning Matters of Property are daily arising between you and your Proprietaries, cannot your Wisdoms *perceive* the least *Difference*, between having the Judges of those Disputes appointed by a Royal Governor, who has no Interest in the Cause; and having them appointed by the Proprietaries themselves, the principal Parties against you, and *during their Pleasure* too? When Supplies are necessary to be rais'd for your Defence, can you perceive no Difference between having a Royal Governor, free to promote his Majesty's Service, by a ready Assent to your Laws, and a Proprietary Governor, shackled by Instructions, forbidding him to give that Assent, unless some private Advantage is obtain'd, some Profit got, or unequal Exemption gain'd for their Estate, or some Privilege wrested from you? When Prerogative, that in other Governments is only used for the Good of the People, is here strained to the extreme, and used to their Prejudice, and the Proprietaries' Benefit, can you *perceive* no *Difference?* When the direct and immediate Rays of Majesty benignly and mildly shine on all around us, but are transmitted and thrown upon us thro' the Burning-Glass of Proprietary Government, can your Sensibilities feel no Difference? Shelter'd perhaps, in Proprietary Offices, or benumb'd with Expectations, it may be you cannot. But surely you might have known better than to tell his Majesty, "that there *can be* no Governors of this Province, without his *immediate* Approbation." Don't you

know, who know so much, that by our blessed Constitution the Proprietors themselves, whenever they please, may govern us in Person, without such Approbation?

The petition proceeds to tell his Majesty, "That the particular Mode of Government, which we enjoy, under your Majesty, is held in the highest Estimation by Good Men of all Denominations among us; and hath brought Multitudes of industrious People from various Parts of the World," &c. Really! can this be from Proprietary Partizans? That Constitution, which they were for ever censuring, as defective in a Legislative Council, defective in Government Powers, too popular in many of its Modes; is it now become so excellent? Perhaps as they have been tinkering it these twenty Years, till they have stript it of some of its most valuable Privileges, and almost spoilt it, they now begin to like it. But then it is not surely, this *present Constitution*, that brought hither those Multitudes. They came before. At least it was not that Particular in our Constitution, the Proprietary Power of appointing a Governor, which attracted them; that singular Particular which alone is now in question; which our venerable Founder first, and now the Assembly, are endeavouring to change.

As to the remaining valuable Part of our Constitution, the Assembly have been equally full and strong in expressing their Regard for it, and perhaps stronger and fuller; for their Petition in that respect, is in the Nature of a *Petition of Right*, it lays Claim, tho' modestly and humbly, to those Privileges on the Foundation of Royal Grants, on Laws confirmed by the Crown, and on *Justice* and *Equity;* as the Grants were the Considerations offer'd to induce them to settle, and which they have in a Manner purchas'd and

paid for, by executing that Settlement without putting the Crown to any Expence.

Whoever would know what our Constitution was, when it was so much admir'd, let him peruse that elegant farewell Speech of Mr. *Hamilton*, Father of our late Governor, when as Speaker he took his Leave of the House, and of public Business, in 1739, and then let him compare that Constitution with the present. The Power of *appointing public Officers* by the Representatives of the People, which he so much extols: *Where is it now?* Even the bare naming to the Governor in a Bill, a trivial Officer to receive a Light-house Duty, which could be consider'd as no more than a mere Recommendation, is, in a late Message, stil'd "an Encroachment on the Prerogative of the Crown!" The sole Power of raising and disposing of the Public Money, which he says was then lodged in the Assembly, that inestimable Privilege, *What is become of it?* Inch by Inch they have been wrested from us in Times of public Distress, and the rest are going the same Way. I remember to have seen, when Governor *Hamilton* was engag'd in a Dispute with the Assembly on some of those Points, a Copy of that Speech, which then was intended to be reprinted, with a Dedication to that honorable Gentleman, and this Motto from *John Rogers's* Verses in the Primer.

> "We send you here a little Book,
> For you to look upon;
> That you may see your Father's Face,
> Now he is dead and gone."

Many a such *little Book* has been sent by our Assemblies to the present Proprietaries. But they don't like to see their *Father's Face;* it puts their own *out of Countenance.*

The Petition proceeds to say, "That such Disagreements as have arisen in this Province, we have beheld with Sorrow, but as others around us are not exempted from the like Misfortunes, *we can by no means conceive them incident to the Nature of our Government*, which hath *often* been administred with remarkable Harmony: And your Majesty, before whom our late Disputes have been laid, can be at no Loss, in your great Wisdom, to discover whether they proceed from the above Cause, or should be ascribed to some others." The Disagreements in question, are Proprietary Disagreements in Government, relating to Proprietary private Interests. And are not the Royal Governments around us exempt from these Misfortunes? Can you, really, Gentlemen, *by no Means conceive*, that Proprietary Government Disagreements *are incident to the Nature* of Proprietary Governments? Can they in Nature be incident to any other Governments? If your *Wisdoms* are so hard to conceive, I am afraid they will never bring forth.

But then our Government "hath *often* been administred with remarkable Harmony." Very true; as *often* as the Assembly have been able and willing to purchase that Harmony, and pay for it, the Mode of which has already been shewn. And yet that word *often* seems a little unluckily chosen; the Flame that is *often* put out, must be *as often* lit. If our Government "hath *often* been administred with remarkable Harmony," it hath *as often* been administred with remarkable Discord. One *often* is as numerous as the other. And his "Majesty," if he should take the Trouble of looking over our Disputes to which the Petitioners, to save themselves a little Pains, modestly and decently refer him, where will he, for twenty Years past, find any but

Proprietary Disputes concerning Proprietary Interests; or Disputes that have been connected with and arose from them?

The Petition proceeds to assure his Majesty, "that this Province (except from the Indian Ravages) enjoys the *most perfect internal Tranquility!*" Amazing! What! the most perfect Tranquility! when there have been three atrocious Riots within a few Months! When, in two of them horrid Murthers were committed on twenty innocent Persons, and in the third, no less than one Hundred and forty like Murthers were meditated, and declar'd to be intended, with as many more as should be occasion'd by any Opposition! When we know that these Rioters and Murderers have none of them been punish'd, have never been prosecuted, have not even been apprehended! when we are frequently told, that they intend still to execute their Purposes, as soon as the Protection of the King's Forces is withdrawn. Is our Tranquility more perfect now, than it was between the first Riot and the second, or between the second and the third? And why "*except the Indian Ravages*," if a *little Intermission* is to be denominated "the most perfect Tranquility"? for the *Indians* too have been quiet lately. Almost as well might Ships in an Engagement talk of the "most perfect Tranquility" between two Broadsides. But "a Spirit of Riot and Violence is foreign to the general Temper of the Inhabitants." I hope and believe it is; the Assembly have said nothing to the contrary. And yet, is there not too much of it? Are there not Pamphlets continually written, and daily sold in our Streets, to justify and encourage it? Are not the mad armed Mob in those Writings instigated to imbrue their Hands in the Blood of their Fellow Citi-

zens; — by first applauding their Murder of the *Indians*, and then representing the Assembly and their Friends as worse than *Indians*, as having privately stirr'd up the *Indians* to murder the White People, and arm'd and rewarded them for that purpose? *Lies*, Gentlemen, villainous as ever the Malice of Hell invented; and which, to do you Justice, not one of you believes, tho' you would have the Mob believe them.

But your Petition proceeds to say, "that where such Disturbances have happened, they have been speedily quieted." By whom were they quieted? The two first, if they can be said to be quieted, were quieted only by the Rioters themselves going home quietly, (that is without any Interruption) and remaining there till their next Insurrection, without any Pursuit, or Attempt to apprehend any of them. And the third, was it quieted, or was the Mischief they intended prevented, or could it have been prevented, without the Aid of the King's Troops march'd into the Province for that Purpose? "The civil Powers have been supported." In some sort. We all know how they were supported. But have they been fully supported? Has the Government sufficient Strength, even with all its Supports, to venture on the apprehending and Punishment of those notorious Offenders? If it has not, why are you angry at those who would strengthen its Hands by a more immediate Royal Authority? If it has, why is not the Thing done? Why will the Government, by its Conduct, strengthen the Suspicions (groundless no doubt) that it has come to a private Understanding with those Murderers, and that Impunity for their past Crimes is to be the Reward of their future *political* Services? O, but, says the Petition, "There are perhaps Cases in all Govern-

ments, where it may not be possible speedily to discover Offenders." Probably; is there any Case in any Government where it is not possible to *endeavour* such a Discovery? There may be Cases where it is not safe to do it: And perhaps the best thing our Government can say for itself, is, that that is our Case. The only Objection to such an Apology must be, that it would justify that Part of the Assembly's Petition to the Crown which relates to the Weakness of our present Government.[1]

Still, if there is any Fault, it must be in the Assembly; for, says the Petition, "if the Executive Part of our Government should seem in any Case *too weak*, we conceive it is the Duty of the Assembly, and in their Power, to strengthen it." This weakness, however, you have just deny'd. "Disturbances," you say, "have been speedily quieted, and the civil Power supported;" and thereby you have depriv'd your insinuated Charge against the Assembly of its only Support. But is it not a Fact known to you all, that the Assembly did endeavour to strengthen the Hands of the Government? That, at his Honor's Instance, they prepar'd and pass'd in a few Hours, a Bill for extending hither the Act of Parliament for dispersing Rioters? That they also pass'd and presented to him a Militia Bill, which he refus'd, unless Powers were thereby given him over the Lives and Properties of the Inhabitants, which the public Good did not require, and which their Duty to their Constituents

[1] The assembly, being called upon by the governor for their advice on that occasion, did, in a message, advise his sending for and examining the magistrates of Lancaster county and borough, where the murders were committed, in order to discover the actors; but neither that, nor any of the other measures recommended, were ever taken. Proclamations indeed were published, but soon discontinued. — F.

would not permit them to trust in the Hands of any Proprietary Governor? You know the Points, Gentlemen; they have been made public. Would you have had your Representatives give up those Points? Do you intend to give them up when at the next Election you are made Assembly-men? If so, tell it us honestly beforehand, that we may know what we are to expect, when we are about to chuse you?

I come now to the last Clause of your Petition, where, with the same wonderful Sagacity with which you in another Case discover'd the Excellency of a Speech you never heard, you undertake to characterize a Petition you own you never saw; and venture to assure his Majesty that it is "exceeding grievous in its Nature; that it by no Means contains a proper Representation of the State of this Province; and is repugnant to the general Sense of his numerous and loyal Subjects in it." Are then his Majesty's "numerous and loyal Subjects" in this Province all as great Wizards as yourselves, and capable of knowing without seeing it, that a Petition is repugnant to their general Sense?

But the *Inconsistence* of your Petition, Gentlemen, is not so much to be wonder'd at; the Prayer of it is still more extraordinary; "We therefore most humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleased *wholly to disregard* the said Petition of the Assembly." What! without Enquiry! without Examination! without a Hearing of what the Assembly might say in Support of it! "*wholly disregard*" the Petition of your Representatives in Assembly, accompany'd by other Petitions signed by Thousands of your Fellow Subjects, as loyal, if not as *wise* and as *good* as yourselves! Would you wish to see your great and amiable Prince act a

Part that could not become a Dey of *Algiers?* Do you, who are *Americans*, pray for a *Precedent* of such Contempt in the treatment of an *American* Assembly! Such "total Disregard" of their humble Applications to the Throne? Surely your *Wisdoms* here have overshot yourselves. But as Wisdom shews itself, not only in doing what is right, but in confessing and amending what is wrong, I recommend the latter particularly to your present Attention; being persuaded of this Consequence, That tho' you have been mad enough to sign such a Petition, you never will be Fools enough to present it.

There is one Thing mention'd in the Preface, which I find I omitted to take Notice of as I came along, the Refusal of the House to enter Mr. *Dickenson's* Protest on their Minutes: This is mention'd in such a Manner there, and in the News Papers, as to insinuate a Charge of some Partiality and Injustice in the Assembly. But the Reasons were merely these, That tho' Protesting may be a Practice with the *Lords* of Parliament, there is no Instance of it in the House of Commons, whose Proceedings are the Model follow'd by the Assemblies of *America;* that there is no Precedent of it in our Votes, from the beginning of our present Constitution; and that the introducing such a Practice, would be attended with Inconveniences, as the Representatives in Assembly, are not, like the Lords in Parliament, unaccountable to any Constituents; and would therefore find it necessary for their own Justification, if the Reasons of the Minority for being *against* a Measure were admitted in the Votes, to put there likewise the Reasons that induc'd the Majority to be *for* it. Whereby the Votes, which were intended only as a Register of Propositions and Determinations, would be

fill'd with the Disputes of Members with Members; and the public Business be thereby greatly retarded, if ever brought to a period.

As that *Protest* was a mere Abstract of Mr. Dickenson's Speech, every Particular of it will be found answer'd in the following Speech of Mr. Galloway, from which it is fit that I should no longer detain the Reader.

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388. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 9. 1765

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have been so hurried of late, that I could not write much by this Packet. One Letter to the Speaker, and one to you, are all I shall be able to make out. Thanks to God, I am got perfectly well, my Cough quite gone. My Arms, too, continue mending, so that I can now put on and off my Cloaths, but do not practice it yet, as it still hurts me a little. John continues with me, behaves very well, and talks of returning with me. Mrs. Stevenson has bought the Things you wrote for, and they will go in Capt. Robinson. She presents her Compliments, & wishes you would come over & bring Sally. I purpose sending in the Chest some Books for Cousin Colbert, if the Bookseller sends them in time enough.

I hope to be able to return about the End of Summer. I will look out for a Watch for Sally, as you desire, to bring with me. The Reason I did not think of it before, was your suffering her to wear yours, which you seldom use yourself. Major Small arriv'd here about 3 Weeks since, very well, and gave me the Pleasure of hearing that he left you and

Sally and our other Children well also. The News of Col. Bouquet's Success gave great Satisfaction here, but to none more than myself, upon his Account as well as the Country's. I don't know whether I mention'd in any former Letter that I could wish you to send me what Letters come to your hands directed for me in my Absence. I particularly want those that went from the Post-Office here.

I am oblig'd to our Landlord for his Civility, and shall always remember it. I hope by this Time your Trouble of Moving is over, & that you are compleatly settled. I went to see Mrs. West. She was then unwell, and I did not see her; and have since been too busy; but shall wait on them again very soon. My Love to all. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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389. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 14. 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD,

By Capt. Robinson you will receive a Case. Mrs Stevenson has sent you, with the Blankets, Bedticks, &c. you wrote for. No new China was to be had that would match the Cup and Saucer; but a Friend who had a Set at the same time with me, spar'd me the Remains of his, which are now sent. In the Case I return Mr Thomas Wharton's Woollen Gown, which he was so kind to lend me, and which was so comfortable a Companion in my Winter Passage. Please to deliver it to him with my grateful Acknowledgements. The blue Mohair Stuff is for the Curtains of the Blue Chamber. The Fashion is to make one Curtain only for each

Window. Hooks are sent to fix the Rails by at Top, so that they might be taken down on Occasion. I almost wish I had left Directions not to paint the House till my Return. But I suppose tis done before this time. —

I am glad their Pamphlets give you so little Concern. I make no other Answer to them at present than what appears in the Seal of this Letter. —In yours of Decr 12. which was Wednesday, you say, "*I set you down for being in London on Sunday last.*" You were very near right. — I landed that Day at Portsmouth. So that if you had said *England* instead of *London* it would have been exact. A few Hours, however brought me here.

I have seen Mrs West. She is very well, and desires to be remembred to you and Sally. Mrs Empson is gone to Ireland. — Major Small sends his Compliments, Mrs Stevenson who is but poorly, and Polly send their's, as do M^r^ & Mrs Strahan. Miss Betsy Græme lodges not far from me, and is pretty well.

Remember me affectionately to all our good Friends who contributed by their Kindness to make my Voyage comfortable. To Mr Roberts, Mrs Thompson, Mrs Smith, Mrs Potts, Mrs Shewell; Messrs Whartons, Capt. Falkner, Brothers & Sisters Reads & Franklins, Cousin Davenport, and every body. —

Let no one make you uneasy with their idle or malicious Stories or Scribblings, but enjoy yourself and Friends, and the Comforts of Life that God has bestow'd on you, with a chearful Heart. Let Sally divert you with her Music. Put her on Practising on the Armonica. Mr Brenmer with his Violin may assist and improve her there as well as on the Harpsichord. A few Months, I hope, will finish Affairs

here to my Wish, and bring me to that Retirement and Repose with my little Family, so suitable to my Years, and which I have so long set my Heart upon. — I am, my dear Debby, your ever affectionate Husband

B. FRANKLIN.

Love to Sally and our other Children. — I have seen Amelia Evans, She complains that Sally does not write to her

I have wrote to Messrs. Thomas & Samuel Wharton per Capt. Mc Pharson, under Care of Mr Meredith.

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390. TO JOHN ROSS[1]

London, February 14, 1765.

DEAR SIR: —

I received your obliging favour of December 20th, and am glad to find that, though so distant from them, I still live in the remembrance of my friends.

We have been of late so much engaged in our general American affairs that it was necessary to let what particularly related to our Province to sleep awhile for the present; but it is nevertheless working gradually to its point, and will, I believe, end as we wish it. For the Quakers, who, to show their moderation as regards the proprietors, have (of themselves) undertaken to persuade them to reasonable measures, will, on finding them obstinate, give their whole force and weight to procure a happy event to the petition, especially as they dread nothing more than what they see otherwise

[1] From "Life and Correspondence of George Read. By his Grandson, William Thompson Read, Philadelphia, 1870," p. 46. John Ross (1714–1776), a lawyer of Philadelphia. — ED.

inevitable, their friends in Pennsylvania falling totally under the domination of Presbyterians.

The changes you mention in the magistracy indicate the measures intended, and manifest the means by which they are to be brought about. The hasty setting aside such unexceptionable magistrates merely for their political opinions was not, however, a step the most prudent, for I think it will have different effects from those proposed by it.

The stamp-act, notwithstanding all the opposition we have been able to give it, will pass. Every step in the law, every newspaper, advertisement, and almanac is severely taxed. If this should, as I imagine it will, occasion less law and less printing, it will fall particularly hard on us lawyers and printers.

The Parliament will, however, ease us in some particulars relating to our commerce, and a scheme is under consideration to furnish us with a currency, without which we can neither pay debts nor duties.

It is said here among the merchants that North America owes them no less than four millions sterling. Think what a sum the interest of this debt amounts to! — pay them honestly.

Be pleased to present my hearty respects to our friends Potts, Pawlin and Morton. They do not I dare say, sleep a jot the worse for their dismission. There are times in which 'The post of honour is a private station.' But those times will not, I think, long continue. At least nothing in my power shall be wanting to change them.

My respects to Mrs. Ross, and my young friends of your family; and believe me, with sincere regard, dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I send you a pamphlet, wrote, I have reason to believe, under the direction of the ministry, with a view to make us Americans easy, which shows some tenderness for us.

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391. TO DAVID HALL[1] (P. C.)

London, Feb. 14, 1765

DEAR M^R. HALL,

I received your obliging Letter of Decem^r 20, with the Newspapers. I am glad to hear of Col. Bouquet's Success, hope the deserting Hostages will be recover'd, and the Peace firmly establish'd. The French being now totally remov'd from North America, we may, I think, expect the Indians will be more manageable for the future.

The Stamp Act, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be given it by the American Interest, will pass. I think it will affect the Printers more than anybody, as a Sterling Halfpenny Stamp on every Half Sheet of a Newspaper, and Two Shillings Sterling on every Advertisement, will go near to knock up one Half of both. There is also Fourpence Sterling on every Almanack. I have just sent to Mr Strahan to forward 100 Reams of the large Half Sheets to you, such as the Chronicle is done on, for present use, and shall, as soon as possible, send you a Pair of Paper Molds for that size, otherwise the Stamp on the Gazette will cost a Penny Sterling, even when you do not print a Half Sheet.

Robert Hampden Esq., one of the Post Masters General, is now, by the Death of his Brother, become Lord Trevor,

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Simon Gratz. — ED.

and should have his Papers directed, To the Right Honourable Earl Trevor, General Post Office, London.

The Opposition is come to nothing. The little Squibs you see in the Papers are regarded by nobody. But for Politicks I refer you to Mr Strahan.

My Love to Cousin Molly and your children.

I am
Yours affectionately

B, FRANKLIN

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392. FROM JOSEPH GALLOWAY TO B. FRANKLIN

(A. P. S.)

Philadelphia, Feby 27. 1765.

DEAR SIR,

I wrote to you by the Packet, inclosing a Copy of the Extract of a Letter from Thomas Penn Esq. to his Nephew, the Governor, which is inclosed in this Letter.

This Account of the Petitions for a Change of this Government from Proprietary to Royal, has struck our Friends with the utmost Consternation. And indeed, I am not a little alarmed at the Consequences. For, you well know, the Assembly Party are the only Loyal Part of the People here, and are those very persons, who have preserved the Peace and good Order of the Province, not only against the Paxton Rioters and Murderers, but also in these Times of general Tumult and Distraction, when all the Powers of this Government were asleep, and its Officers were active in the Opposition; and they conceive, that this good Demeanor and remarkable Services to the Crown justifies their Claim of some Share of Merit, and at least entitles them to a Hearing of their Complaints.

But they say if this Extract be true, that his Majesty's Privy Council has rejected the Humble Petitions of their Representatives without even a Hearing; that they have not been permitted, when they have approached the Throne with the utmost Duty and Loyalty, to breathe forth their Complaints against Proprietary Oppression and Injustice, which has often wounded their own Welfare, and obstructed their essential Duties to the Crown; and that they have nothing now left, but to groan, if they dare to groan at all, under the Tyranny of a private Subject, without the least Hopes of Redress, the Royal Ear being shut against a Part of his Liege Subjects, the most Dutiful and Loyal.

They further say, what you well know, that the Laws are not, nor have been, for many years Duly Executed: That no Justice is to be obtained against the Proprietors, or their adherents; that the most Flagitious Offenders, even Murderers and Rebels, are travelling about the Country with Impunity; and that they have no Protection of Life, nor Safety of Person or Property. These, with many other Complaints, are constantly issuing from the Hearts of the People; the Proprietary Dependents excepted, who greatly rejoice and even insult the Petitioners and their Friends. Since the receipt of this incredible Letter, extracts whereof have been industriously sent all over the Province, in order to Spirit up the Temper and violent Disposition of their Party, I have left nothing in my Power unessayed among our Friends to oppose the Torrent, and to prevail on them to discredit this account, and to believe that his Majesty will yet hear their Petitions and redress their aggrievances. And I have been obliged, to give many Extracts of your Letter to me, respecting the State of those Petitions, to convince

them of my Assurances, which has in some Degree prevented their Dispair, as they have been from thence induced to discredit the Extract.

Our Assembly, anxious to know the result of the Petitions, have adjourned to the 6th of May next; who are inviolably attached to his Majesty, and firmly determined to become his immediate Subjects, if there are any Human Means left to effect it. And since the Assurances that have been received, that our Liberties will be preserved on the Change, all their Constituents (the Proprietary Dependents and Presbyterians excepted) are determined to support them in the Attempt. Should this Account from the Proprietor prove true, (which God forbid,) that their Petitions are rejected without a *Hearing*, I fear their Consternation and Distress will be wrought still higher. For, while the present members are continued, I am convinced they will never cease entreating his Majesty to rescue them from the Oppression of his private Subjects; and that there is a great Probability to presume their Continuance, will appear from the Accounts of the last Election I transmitted you by Captⁿ Friend.

Wherefore, I hope the Petitions, as you have written and I have confidently declared, are not rejected, or laid aside, but will be resumed when the more important American Affairs are settled. Nothing less than a Change, I think, will satisfy the people; certain I am, a Dismission without a Hearing never can: But I fear will throw this already too unhappy Province into equal Disorder and Confusion with its neighbouring Colonies.

You will therefore be pleased to inform me in what State the Petitions are before his Majesty's Council, by the earliest Opportunity, that I may be enabled to satisfy the People, who

rely upon us with Certainty. In the mean Time, be assured, that nothing in my Power shall be wanting to preserve ye Peace, and render them Easy. Believe me, dear Friend, ever yours most affectionately,

JOS. GALLOWAY.

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393. TO THE EDITOR OF A NEWSPAPER [1]

(A. P. S.)

Monday, May 20, [1765.]

SIR,

In your Paper of Wednesday last, an ingenious Correspondent that calls himself THE SPECTATOR, and dates from *Pimlico*, under the Guise of Good Will to the News-writers, whom he calls an "useful Body of Men in this great City," has, in my Opinion, artfully attempted to turn them & their Works into Ridicule, wherein if he could succeed, great Injury might be done to the Public as well as to those good People.

Supposing, Sir, that the "*We hears*" they give us of this & t'other intended Voyage or Tour of this & t'other great Personage, were mere Inventions, yet they at least offer us an innocent Amusement while we read, and useful Matter of Conversation when we are dispos'd to converse.

Englishmen, Sir, are too apt to be silent when they have nothing to say; too apt to be sullen when they are silent; and, when they are sullen, to hang themselves. But, by these *We hears*, we are supplied with abundant funds of Discourse, we discuss the Motives for such Voyages, the Probability of

[1] Printed from the original draft in A. P. S. The name of the newspaper for which it was intended is not mentioned. Its object plainly was to discredit the false reports continually circulated respecting the colonies. — ED.

their being undertaken, and the Practicability of their Execution. Here we display our Judgment in Politics, our Knowledge of the Interests of Princes, and our Skill in Geography, and (if we have it) show our Dexterity moreover in Argumentation. In the mean time, the tedious Hour is kill'd, we go home pleas'd with the Applauses we have receiv'd from others, or at least with those we secretly give to ourselves: We sleep soundly, & live on, to the Comfort of our Families. But, Sir, I beg leave to say, that all the Articles of News that seem improbable are not mere Inventions. Some of them, I can assure you on the Faith of a Traveller, are serious Truths. And here, quitting Mr. Spectator of Pimlico, give me leave to instance the various numberless Accounts the Newswriters have given us, with so much honest Zeal for the welfare of *Poor Old England*, of the establishing Manufactures in the Colonies to the Prejudice of those of this Kingdom. It is objected by superficial Readers, who yet pretend to some Knowledge of those Countries, that such Establishments are not only improbable, but impossible, for that their Sheep have but little Wooll, not in the whole sufficient for a Pair of Stockings a Year to each Inhabitant; and that, from the Universal Dearness of Labour among them, the Working of Iron and other Materials, except in some few coarse Instances, is impracticable to any Advantage.

Dear Sir, do not let us suffer ourselves to be amus'd with such groundless Objections. The very Tails of the American Sheep are so laden with Wooll, that each has a little Car or Waggon on four little Wheels, to support & keep it from trailing on the Ground. Would they caulk their Ships, would they fill their Beds, would they even litter their Horses with

Wooll, if it were not both plenty and cheap? And what signifies Dearness of Labour, when an English Shilling passes for five and Twenty? Their engaging 300 Silk Throwsters here in one Week, for New York, was treated as a Fable, because, forsooth, they have "no Silk there to throw." Those, who made this Objection, perhaps did not know, that at the same time the Agents from the King of Spain were at Quebec to contract for 1000 Pieces of Cannon to be made there for the Fortification of Mexico, and at N York engaging the annual Supply of woven Floor-Carpets for their West India Houses, other Agents from the Emperor of China were at Boston treating about an Exchange of raw Silk for Wooll, to be carried in Chinese Junks through the Straits of Magellan.

And yet all this is as certainly true, as the Account said to be from Quebec, in all the Papers of last Week, that the Inhabitants of Canada are making Preparations for a Cod and Whale Fishery this "Summer in the upper Lakes." Ignorant People may object that the upper Lakes are fresh, and that Cod and Whale are Salt Water Fish: But let them know, Sir, that Cod, like other Fish when attack'd by their Enemies, fly into any Water where they can be safest; that Whales, when they have a mind to eat Cod, pursue them wherever they fly; and that the grand Leap of the Whale in that Chase up the Fall of Niagara is esteemed, by all who have seen it, as one of the finest Spectacles in Nature. Really, Sir, the World is grown too incredulous. It is like the Pendulum ever swinging from one Extream to another. Formerly every thing printed was believed, because it was in print. Now Things seem to be disbelieved for just the very same Reason. Wise Men wonder at the present Growth of Infidelity. They should have consider'd, when they taught People to doubt the

Authority of Newspapers and the Truth of Predictions in Almanacks, that the next Step might be a Disbelief in the well vouch'd Accts of Ghosts Witches, and Doubts even of the Truths of the Creed!

Thus much I thought it necessary to say in favour of an honest Set of Writers, whose comfortable Living depends on collecting & supplying the Printers with News at the small Price of Sixpence an Article, and who always show their Regard to Truth, by contradicting in a subsequent Article such as are wrong, — for another Sixpence, — to the great Satisfaction & Improvement of us Coffee-house Students in History & Politics, and the infinite Advantage of all future Livies, Rapins, Robertsons, Humes, and M^c^Aulays, who may be sincerely inclin'd to furnish the World with that *rara Avis*, a true History. I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

A TRAVELLER.

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394. TO JOHN CANTON[1]

Craven Street, May 29, 1765.

DEAR SIR

As you seem'd desirous of seeing the magic Circle I mention'd to you, I have revis'd the one I made many Years since, and with some Improvements, send it you.

I have made it as distinct as I could, by using Inks of different Colours for the several Sets of interwoven Circles; and yet the whole makes so perplext an Appearance, that I doubted whether the Eye could in all Cases easily trace the

[1] The original of this letter is in the Museum of the Guild Hall, London, deposited by R. Canton, a great-grandson of John Canton, F.R.S. A facsimile of it is among the "Canton Papers" (Royal Society). — ED.

Circle of Numbers one would examine, thro' all the Maze of Circles intersected by it. I have therefore, in the middle Circle, mark'd the Centers of the Green, Yellow, and Blue Sets; so that when you would cast up the Numbers in any Circle of either of those Colours, if you fix one Foot of the Compasses in the Center of the same Colour, and extend the other to any Number in that Circle, it will pass round over all the rest successively.

This magic Circle has more Properties than are mention'd in the Description of it, some of them curious & even surprizing; but I could not mark them all without occasioning more Confusion in the Figure, nor easily describe them without too much Writing. When I have next the Pleasure of seeing you, I will point them out.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant

B. FRANKLIN

Mr. Canton

P. S. You have my union Square of 8, and the great perfect one of 16; I enclose one of 6, & one of 4, which I assure you, I found more difficult to make (particularly that of 6) tho' nothing near so good.

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395. TO SIR ALEXANDER DICK (L. L.)

Cravenstreet, London, June 2, 1765.

DEAR SIR

I received your kind Congratulations on my Return to Britain, by Mr Alexander, which was very obliging. The Slip to Dr Morgan I sent after him to America, where I hope

he is safely arrived before this time. He always express'd himself greatly oblig'd to you for the Notice you took of him and the Countenance you afforded him; and I shall always thank you cordially for the Regard you were so good as to pay my Recommendation. — I think he will prove of great Use to his Country as well as an Honour to the Medical School of Edinburgh.

I have perused the Memorandum you sent me from your Friend Mr Swinton, and wish I was able to give him the Information he desires. I should have wrote to you sooner on this Head, but that I hoped to obtain some Lights from a Person daily expected in Town, but who came not till lately, and I now find is as unacquainted as myself. I can only say, that I remember Peter Sonmans, who sold considerable Tracts of Land in the Jerseys; and that since his Death, one Nevil, whose Sister Sonmans married, has continued to sell Lands of the same Property in her Right. But what remains, or in what Situation, I am ignorant; nor can I answer the other Questions with any degree of Precision. But I will send the Memorandum, with your Letter to my Son, if you think proper. He continues Governor of that Province, and I am sure will take pains to be satisfy'd in every Particular, and send you a full Answer. — I can however inform you that there is a Right to 5000 Acres in Pensilvania; belonging to the Representatives of that same Arent Sonmans as I believe, he being describ'd in a Memorandum I have of old Rights, Arent Sonmans of Wallyford. Mid Lothian in the Kingdom of Scotland. Those Representatives may, if they think fit to dispose of that Right, hear of a Purchaser by applying to me. —

There is now at Edinburgh a young Gentleman of America,

Mr Samuel Bard,[1] Son of a Friend of mine. He is studying Physic there. I have known him from a Child, and always had an Affection for him, as he appear'd to have the most amiable Dispositions. I beg your Countenance towards him, and that you would occasionally favour him with your Advice in his Studies.

Be pleased to present my best Respect to Lady Dick & your Children, and allow me to assure you that no one rejoices more in your and their Felicity than, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate & most
obedient Humble Servant
B FRANKLIN

My Son who is very happy in his Government hitherto, desires to be very respectfully remembered to you —

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396. TO LORD KAMES[2]

Craven Street, London, June 2, 1765.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received with great pleasure your friendly letter by Mr. Alexander, which I should have answered sooner by some other conveyance, if I had understood that his stay here was like to be so long. I value myself extremely on the continuance of your regard, which I hope hereafter better to deserve, by more punctual returns in the correspondence you honour me with.

You require my history from the time I set sail for America.

[1] Samuel Bard (1742–1821), son of Dr. John Bard, of New York, was first president of the New York College of physicians and surgeons. — ED.

[2] From "Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Honourable Henry Home of Kames," Vol. II, p. 16. — ED.

I left England about the end of August, 1762, in company with ten sail of merchant ships, under a convoy of a man-of-war. We had a pleasant passage to Madeira, where we were kindly received and entertained; our nation being then in high honour with the Portuguese, on account of the protection we were then affording them against the united invasions of France and Spain. 'Tis a fertile island, and the different heights and situations among its mountains afford such temperaments of air, that all the fruits of northern and southern countries are produced there; corn, grapes, apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, &c. Here we furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, and refreshments of all kinds; and, after a few days, proceeded on our voyage, running southward until we got into the trade winds, and then with them westward, till we drew near the coast of America. The weather was so favourable, that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board of the man-of-war; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than when one goes in a single ship; for this was like travelling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one.

On the 1st of November, I arrived safe and well at my own home, after an absence of near six years, found my wife and daughter well; the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence; and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever, with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chosen yearly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our provincial Assembly; and, on my appearance in the House, they voted me £3000 Sterling for my services in England, and their thanks deliv-

ered by the Speaker. In February following my son arrived with my new daughter; for, with my consent and approbation, he married soon after I left England a very agreeable West India lady, with whom he is very happy. I accompanied him into his government, where he met with the kindest reception from the people of all ranks, and has lived with them ever since in the greatest harmony. A river only parts that province and ours, and his residence is within seventeen miles of me, so that we frequently see each other.

In the spring of 1763, I set out on a tour through all the northern Colonies to inspect and regulate the Postoffices in the several provinces. In this journey I spent the summer, travelled about 1600 miles, and did not get home till the beginning of November. The Assembly sitting through the following winter, and warm disputes arising between them and the Governor, I became wholly engaged in public affairs; for, besides my duty as an Assemblyman, I had another trust to execute, that of being one of the Commissioners appointed by law to dispose of the public money appropriated to the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians, and defend the frontiers. And then in December, we had two insurrections of the back inhabitants of our province, by whom twenty poor Indians were murdered, that had, from the first settlement of the province, lived among us, under the protection of our government. This gave me a good deal of employment; for, as the rioters threatened farther mischief, and their actions seemed to be approved by an increasing party, I wrote a pamphlet entitled "*A Narrative, &c.*" (which I think I sent you) to strengthen the hands of our weak Government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious. This had a good effect; and

afterwards, when a great body of them with arms marched towards the capital, in defiance of the Government, with an avowed resolution to put to death 140 Indian converts then under its protection, I formed an Association at the Governor's request, for his and their defence, we having no militia. Near 1000 of the citizens accordingly took arms; Governor Penn made my house for some time his head-quarters, and did every thing by my advice; so that, for about forty-eight hours, I was a very great man; as I had been once some years before, in a time of public danger: But the fighting face we put on, and the reasonings we used with the insurgents, (for I went at the request of the Governor and Council, with three others, to meet and discourse them,) having turned them back and restored quiet to the city, I became a less man than ever; for I had, by these transactions, made myself many enemies among the populace; and the Governor, (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable,) thinking it a favourable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the Assembly; which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about 25 in 4000 voters. The House, however, when they met in October, approved of the resolutions taken while I was Speaker,[1] of petitioning the crown for a change of Government, and requested me to return to England, to prosecute that petition; which service I accordingly undertook, and embarked at the

[1] Mr. Isaac Norris, who had long acted as Speaker of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, resigned that office on account of ill health, May 26th, 1764, and Dr. Franklin was appointed as his successor. He continued Speaker till the Assembly was dissolved in September following. — S.

beginning of November last, being accompanied to the ship, sixteen miles, by a cavalcade of three hundred of my friends, who filled our sails with their good wishes, and I arrived in thirty days at London.

Here I have been ever since, engaged in that and other public affairs relating to America, which are like to continue some time longer upon my hands; but I promise you, that when I am quit of these, I will engage in no other; and that, as soon as I have recovered the ease and leisure I hope for, the task you require of me, of finishing my *Art of Virtue*, shall be performed. In the mean time, I must request you would excuse me on this consideration, that the powers of the mind are possessed by different men in different degrees, and that every one cannot, like Lord Kames, intermix literary pursuits and important business without prejudice to either.

I send you herewith two or three other pamphlets of my writing on our political affairs, during my short residence in America;[1] but I do not insist on your reading them; for I know you employ all your time to some useful purpose.

In my passage to America I read your excellent work, the *Elements of Criticism*, in which I found great entertainment: much to admire and nothing to reprove. I only wished you had examined more fully the subject of Music, and demonstrated, that the pleasure which artists feel in hearing much of that composed in the modern taste, is not the natural pleasure arising from melody or harmony of sounds, but of the same kind with the pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising feats of tumblers and rope-dancers, who execute difficult things. For my part I take this to be really the case, and

[1] These were "A Narrative of the Late Massacres," "Cool Thoughts," and the "Preface to Galloway's Speech." — ED.

suppose it the reason why those, who being unpractised in music, and therefore unacquainted with those difficulties, have little or no pleasure in hearing this music. Many pieces of it are mere compositions of tricks. I have sometimes, at a concert, attended by a common audience, placed myself so as to see all their faces, and observed no signs of pleasure in them during the performance of a great part that was admired by the performers themselves; while a plain old *Scottish tune*, which they disdained, and could scarcely be prevailed on to play, gave manifest and general delight.

Give me leave on this occasion to extend a little the sense of your position, that "Melody and Harmony are separately agreeable, and in union delightful," and to give it as my opinion, that the reason why the Scotch tunes have lived so long, and will probably live for ever (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament), is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony. I mean the simple tunes sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation, indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called *Melody*, and only the *co-existence* of agreeing sounds, *Harmony*. But, since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a succeeding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may and does arise from thence a sense of harmony between the present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds.

Now the construction of the old Scotch tunes is this, that almost every succeeding *emphatical* note is a third, a fifth, an

octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly used, which are very pleasing concords. I use the word *emphatical* to distinguish those notes which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely, like grammar articles, to tack the others together.

That we have a most perfect idea of a sound just past, I might appeal to all acquainted with music, who know how easy it is to repeat a sound in the same pitch with one just heard. In tuning an instrument, a good ear can as easily determine that two strings are in unison by sounding them separately, as by sounding them together; their disagreement is also as easily, I believe I may say more easily and better distinguished, when sounded separately; for when sounded together, though you know by the beating that one is higher than the other, you cannot tell which it is.[1] [I have ascribed to memory the ability of comparing the pitch of a present tone with that of one past. But, if there should be, as possibly there may be, something in the ear, similar to what we find in the eye, that ability would not be entirely owing to memory. Possibly the vibrations given to the auditory nerves by a particular sound may actually continue some time after the cause of those vibrations is past, and the agreement or disagreement of a subsequent sound become by comparison with them more discernible. For the impression made on the visual nerves by a luminous object will continue for twenty or thirty seconds. Sitting in a room, look earnestly at the middle of a window a little while when the day is bright, and then shut your eyes; the figure of the window will still remain in the eye, and so distinct that you may count the panes.

[1] The passage enclosed in brackets is omitted by Tytler, and published by Sparks. — ED.

A remarkable circumstance attending this experiment, is, that the impression of forms is better retained than that of colors; for after the eyes are shut, when you first discern the image of the window, the panes appear dark, and the cross bars of the sashes, with the window frames and walls, appear white or bright; but, if you still add to the darkness in the eyes by covering them with your hand, the reverse instantly takes place, the panes appear luminous and the cross bars dark. And by removing the hand they are again reversed. This I know not how to account for. Nor for the following; that, after looking long through green spectacles, the white paper of a book will on first taking them off appear to have a blush of red; and, after long looking through red glasses, a greenish cast; this seems to intimate a relation between green and red not yet explained.]

[1] Farther, when we consider by whom these ancient tunes were composed, and how they were first performed, we shall see that such harmonical succession of sounds was natural and even necessary in their construction. They were composed by the minstrels of those days to be played on the harp accompanied by the voice. The harp was strung with wire, [which gives a sound of long continuance,] and had no contrivance, like that in the modern harpsichord, by which the sound of the preceding could be stoppt, the moment a succeeding note began. To avoid *actual* discord, it was therefore necessary that the succeeding emphatic note should be a chord with the preceding, as their sounds must exist at the same time. Hence arose that beauty in those tunes that has so long pleased, and will please for ever, though men scarce know why. That they were originally composed

[1] Here Tytler resumes. — ED.

for the harp, and of the most simple kind, I mean a harp without any half notes but those in the natural scale, and with no more than two octaves of strings, from C to C, I conjecture from another circumstance, which is, that not one of those tunes, really ancient, has a single artificial half note in it, and that in tunes where it was most convenient for the voice to use the middle notes of the harp, and place the key in F, there the B, which if used should be a B flat, is always omitted by passing over it with a third. The connoisseurs in modern music will say, I have no taste; but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors, in hearing a good song, distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition, not having this natural harmony united with their melody, have recourse to the artificial harmony of a bass, and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard James Oswald play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet, I think, even *his* playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament. My son, when we parted, desired me to present his Affectionate respects to you, Lady Kames, and your amiable children: be so good with those, to accept mine, and believe me, with sincerest esteem, my dear Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I do promise myself the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends in Scotland, before I return to America.

397. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, June 4. 1765

My dear Child,

I have now before me your Favours of April 13. 15. 17. 23, May 14, 18, 20; not so many Letters as Dates, some of them having two or three. As to the Cause concerning the Lot, I have never been in the least uneasy about it, desiring only that Justice might be done, which I do not doubt. I hope Robinson was not long missing after your Letters, as I really have a great Esteem for him. I could have wished to have been present at the Finishing of the Kitchen, as it is a mere Machine, and, being new to you, I think you will scarce know how to work it; the several Contrivances to carry off Steam & Smell and Smoke not being fully explain'd to you. The Oven I suppose was put up by the written Directions in my former Letter. You mention nothing of the Furnace. If that Iron One is not set, let it alone till my Return, when I shall bring a more convenient copper one.

You wonder how I did to travel 72 Miles in a short winter Day, on my Landing in England, and think I must have practis'd Flying. But the Roads here are so good, with PostChaises & fresh Horses every ten or twelve Miles, that it is no difficult Matter. A Lady that I know has come from Edinburgh to London, being 400 Miles, in three Days & half. You mention the Payment of the 500 Pounds, but do not say that you have got the Deeds executed. I suppose however that it was done. I received the two Post Office Letters you sent me. It was not Letters of that Sort alone that I wanted; but all such as were sent to me from any one whomsoever.

I cannot but complain in my Mind of Mr. Smith, that the House is so long unfit for you to get into, the Fences not put up, nor the other necessary Articles got ready. The Well I expected would have been dug in the Winter, or early in the Spring; but I hear nothing of it. You should have garden'd long before the Date of your last, but it seems the Rubbish was not removed. I am much oblig'd to my good old Friends that did me the Honour to remember me in the unfinish'd Kitchin. I hope soon to drink with them in the Parlour.

I am very thankful to the good Ladies you mention for their friendly Wishes. Present my best Respects to Mrs. Grace, and Dear Precious Mrs. Shewell, Mrs. Masters, Mrs. Galloway & Miss, Mrs. Redman, Mrs. Graeme, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Story, Mrs. Bartram, Mrs. Smith, Mrs. Hilborne, and all the others you have nam'd to me. My Love also to our Brothers and Sisters and Cousins as if particularly mention'd. I have deliver'd yours to Mrs. & Miss Stevenson, Mr. & Mrs. Strahan and their Family, Mrs. Empson, Mrs. West, & our Country Cousins. Miss Graham is not come to Town as I have heard.

It rejoices me to learn that you are freer than you us'd to be from the HeadAch, and that Pain in your Side. I am likewise in perfect Health. God is very good to us both in many Respects. Let us enjoy his Favours with a thankful & chearful Heart; and, as we can make no direct Return to him, show our Sense of his Goodness to us, by continuing to do Good to our Fellow Creatures, without Regarding the Returns they make us, whether Good or Bad. For they are all his Children, tho' they may sometimes be our Enemies. The Friendships of this World are changeable, uncertain,

transitory Things; but his Favour, if we can secure it, is an Inheritance for ever. I am, my dear Debby, your ever loving Husband, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Our Neighbour Swan's Son came to me in a poor naked Condition, telling me he had been cast away. I gave him my Surtout Coat, and lent him Twenty-Six Shillings, which he said his Father would repay if he did not. Enclos'd I send his Note for a Guinea. I would have you ask for it. If paid 'tis well. If not, 'tis no great matter.

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398. TO JOHN ROSS[1]

London, June 8, 1765.

DEAR SIR;—

If, according to the custom here, I congratulate you on your having a severe fit of the gout, I cannot avoid mixing some condolence with my congratulation, for I too have lately had a visit or rather *visitation* from the same friend (or enemy) that confined me near a fortnight. And notwithstanding the salutary effects people talk of to comfort us under our pain, I fancy we should both of us willingly hazard being without them, rather than have these means of procuring them too frequently repeated. I may possibly be, as they tell me, greatly obliged to the gout; but the "condition of this obligation is such," that I cannot heartily say *I thank ye.* I hope, however, your slow recovery proved at length a perfect one. And I pray that your established health may long continue.

[1] From "Life and Correspondence of George Read. By his grandson, William Thompson Read, Philadelphia, 1870," p. 47. ED.

The outrages committed by the frontier people are really amazing! But impunity for former riots has emboldened them. Rising in arms to destroy property, public and private, and insulting the King's troops and fort, is going great lengths indeed. If, in Mr. Chief's opinion, our Resolves might be called rebellion, what does the gentleman call this? I can truly say, it gives me great concern. Such practices throw a disgrace over our whole country that can only be wiped off by exemplary punishment of the actors, which our *weak* government cannot or will not inflict. And the people I pity for their want of sense. Those who have inflamed and misled them have a deal to answer for.

Our petition, which has been becalmed for some time, is now getting under way again, and all appearances are for us. I hope before Captain Friend sails to give you some account of our progress.

My respectful compliments to Mrs. Ross, and my friends, the young ladies, to whom I wish every felicity.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

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399. TO HUGH ROBERTS[1]

London, July 7, 1765.

DEAR FRIEND,

Your kind Favour of May 20th, by the Hand of our good Friend Mr. Neave, gave me great Pleasure. I find on these Occasions, that Expressions of steady, continued Friendship, such as are contain'd in your Letter, tho' but from one or a

[1] From the original in the Museum of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where it was deposited by Mr. C. Morton Smith. — ED.

few honest and sensible Men, who have long known us, afford a Satisfaction that far outweighs the clamorous Abuse of 1000 Knaves and Fools. While I enjoy the Share I have so long had in the Esteem of my old Friends, the Bird-and-Beast People you mention may peck, and snarl, and bark at me as much as they think proper. There is only some Danger, that I should grow too Vain on their Disapprobation.

I am pleas'd with your Punning, not merely because I like Punning in general, but because I learn from your using it, that you are in good Health and Spirits, which I pray may long continue. Our Affairs are at a total Stop here, by the Present unsettled State of the Ministry, but will go forward again as soon as that is fix'd. Nothing yet appears that is Discouraging.

I have not yet found an Engraver that will do our Seal well and reasonably. Kirk asked me Twenty Guineas, and some others a Little less. I think we had better Content ourselves with the old one; but shall enquire farther.[1] Remember me respectfully and affectionately to your good Dame and Children, and accept my Thanks for your kind Visits to my little Family in my Absence.

I wish you would continue to meet the Junto, notwithstanding that some Effects of our publick political Misunderstandings may sometimes appear there. 'Tis now perhaps one of the *oldest* Clubs, as I think it was formerly one of the *best*, in the King's Dominions. It wants but about two years of

[1] On the 20th of August he wrote: "I informed you lately, that twenty guineas were demanded by Kirk for engraving the Hospital seal. I have since found a man that will do it for ten, but I suppose will hardly do it so well. Let me know your sentiments of this expense." — ED.

Forty since it was establish'd. We loved and still love one another; we are grown Grey together, and yet it is too early to Part. Let us sit till the Evening of Life is spent. The Last Hours are always the most joyous. When we can stay no longer, 'tis time enough then to bid each other good Night, separate, and go quietly to bed. Adieu, my dear Friend, yours affectionately, B. FRANKLIN.

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400. TO SAMUEL RHOADS (P. H. S.)

London July 8. 1765

DEAR FRIEND

I have before me your Favour of May 20th wherein you mention that you had not heard from me, which I, a little wonder at, as I wrote to you the 14th of February, and find that Letters to some other Friends of the same date were got to hand.

I congratulate you on Your Retirement, and you being able to divert yourself with farming; 'tis an inexhaustible source of perpetual Amusement. Your Country *Seat* is of a more secure kind than *that* in the Assembly: and I hope not so much in the Power of the Mob to jostle you out of. — I say *hope* for after what we have lately heard of your Mobs, one cannot say that any Property or Possession is Safe *certainly*. —

I am much oblig'd to you for Spurring our Friends in their Correspondance. They have not been Wanting.

The Malice of our Adversaries I am well acquainted with, but hitherto it has been Harmless; all their Arrows shot against us, have been like those that Rabelais speaks of which

were headed with Butter harden'd in the Sun. — As long as I have known the World I have observ'd that Wrong is always growing more Wrong till there is no bearing it, and that right however oppos'd, comes right at last. —

The Change so much wish'd for & now become so necessary must sooner or later take Place, and I think it, Nearer at hand, whatever may be given out to the Contrary. —

. . . . . .

I have prophesied to them here, that they will by these Acts, Lose more in Trade than they Can get in Taxes.

There was a Bill Brought in with a Clause to impower the Military Officers to quarter Soldiers on Private Houses. This If it had passed we apprehended might be used to awe us & as an Instrument of Oppression upon Occasion, & therefore we opposed it vigorously. I think I may Value myself on having a considerable Place in getting this Clause struck out, and another put in that may Occasionally save our Province a great Deal of Money. —

As to the House, I am sencible I give you a great Deal of Trouble, and I doubt not your care to get it finish'd, but it seems to me that the Workmen have been unkind to keep Mrs Franklin so long unsettled.

My best Respects to good Mrs Rhoads, your Son & Daughter, with Thanks for their Remembrance of me I am, Dear Friend

Yours affectionately

B. FRANKLIN

401. TO CHARLES THOMSON[1]

London, July 11, 1765.

DEAR FRIEND,

I am extremely obliged by your kind Letters of April 12th and 14th, and thank you for the intelligence they contain. The Outrages continually committed by those misguided people, will doubtless tend to convince all the considerate on your side of the water, of the weakness of our present Government, and the necessity of a Change. I am sure it will contribute toward hastening that Change here so that upon the whole, Good will be brought out of Evil; but yet I grieve to hear of such horrid disorders. The Letters and accounts boasted of from the Proprietor, of his being sure of retaining the Government, as well as those of the sums offered for it, which the people will be obliged to pay, &c., are all idle Tales, fit only for knaves to propagate, and Fools to believe. A little Time will *dissipate all the smoke* they can raise to conceal the real state of things.

The unsettled state of the ministry, ever since the Parliament rose, has stopped all proceeding in publick affairs, and ours amongst the rest; but, Change being now made, we shall immediately proceed, and with the greater Chearfulness, as some we had reason to doubt of are removed, and some particular friends are put in place. What you mention of the Lower Counties is undoubtedly right. Had they ever sent their laws home, as they ought to have done, that of priority of Payment of Residents would undoubtedly

[1] From the original in the Library of the New York Historical Society. Charles Thomson (1729–1824), Secretary of the first Continental Congress. — ED.

have been repealed. But the end of all these things is nigh; at least it seems to be so.

The spiking of the Guns was an audacious Piece of villainy, by whomsoever done. It shows the necessity of a regular enclosed Place of Defence, with a constant Guard to take care of what belongs to it, which, when the Country can afford it, will, I hope, be provided.

Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned in interest than myself to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the Tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American Claims of Independence, and all Parties joined in resolving by this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since 'tis down, my Friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and Industry will go a great way toward indemnifying us. Idleness and Pride tax with a heavier hand than Kings and Parliaments; if we can get rid of the former, we may easily bear the latter.

My best respects to Mrs. Thomson. Adieu, my Dear Friend, and believe me ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

Excuse my man John's miserable clerkship.

402. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, July 13, 1765.

MY DEAR CHILD,

I had the great Pleasure of hearing from you and Sally last Night by the Packet. I cannot now answer every particular of your Letters, having many to write that are to go by this Day's Mail, but will by the next Opportunity. Mrs. Stevenson bids me tell Sally, that the striped Gown I have sent her will wash, but it must be with a light hand in a cold lather. I am glad to hear of Capt. Robinson's Arrival, it gives me Pleasure, that so many of my Friends honour'd our new Dining-Room with their Company. You tell me only of a Fault they found with the House, that it was too little, and not a Word of any thing they lik'd in it: Nor how the Kitchen Chimneys perform; so I suppose you spare me some Mortification, which is kind. I wonder you put up the Oven without Mr. Roberts's Advice, as I think you told me he had my old Letter of Directions; but I can add no more, only that I am very well and in good Spirits. I wrote you largely by Capt Friend, and sent a Case mark'd B. F. with a number of Particulars. My love to all. Your affectionate Husband, B. FRANKLIN.

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403. TO JOHN HUGHES[1]

London, Aug. 9. 1765.

DEAR FRIEND.

Since my last I have received your Fav[r] of June 20. The Account you give me of the Indiscretion of some People

[1] From "Swedish Holsteins in America," Norristown, Pa., 1892, p. 253.

with you, concerning the Government here, I do not wonder at. 'Tis of a Piece with the rest of their Conduct. But the Rashness of the Assembly in Virginia is amazing! I hope however that ours will keep within the Bounds of Prudence and Moderation; for that is the only way to lighten or get clear of our Burthens.

As to the Stamp Act, tho' we purpose doing our Endeavour to get it repeal'd, in which I am sure you would concur with us, yet the Success is uncertain: — If it continues, your undertaking to execute it may make you unpopular for a Time, but your acting with Coolness and Steadiness, and with every Circumstance in your Power of Favour to the People, will by degrees reconcile them. In the mean time, a firm Loyalty to the Crown & faithful Adherence to the Government of this Nation, which it is the Safety as well as Honour of the Colonies to be connected with, will always be the wisest Course for you and I to take, whatever may be the Madness of the Populace or their blind Leaders, who can only bring themselves and Country into Trouble and draw on greater Burthens by Acts of rebellious Tendency. —

In mine of June 29, I send you the Bill of Fees I have paid, amounting to £5, 10.0. Since which I have paid another Demand of £2. 4.6 Treasury Fees for a second Warrant, &c, the first not having included the Lower Counties. — I now send with this, your Commission, with a Letter from the Secretary of the Stamp Office with whom you are to correspond. —

As to our Petition, the new Secretary of State, General Conway, has appointed next Wednesday to give us an Audience upon it, when I suppose it will be presented. And

I have very little doubt of a favourable Progress and Advantageous Issue. —

I am, my dear Friend,
Yours affectionately
B FRANKLIN.

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404. LETTERS CONCERNING THE STAMP ACT

TO THE PRINTER OF

The Public Advertiser,[1] JANUARY 2, 1766.

SIR,

Pacificus in your Paper of Friday last, tells us, that the inhabitants of New England "are descended from the Stiff-Rumps in Oliver's Time;" and he accounts for their being "so tenacious of what they call their Rights and Liberties;" from the independent Principles handed down to them by their Forefathers, and that Spirit of Contradiction, which he says, is "the distinguishing Characteristic of Fanaticism." But it seems the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, who are descended from the Royalists of the Church of England, driven hence by those very Oliverian Stiff-Rumps, and never tinctured with Fanaticism, are, in the present Case, as stiff-rump'd as the others, and even led the Way in asserting what "they call their Rights." So that this Hypothesis of Fanaticism appears insufficient to account for the Opposition universally given to the Stamp Act in America; and I fancy the Gentleman thought so himself, as he mends it a little after, by lumping all the Americans under the general Character of "Housebreakers and Felons."

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, February 23, 1767. — ED.

Supposing them such, his Proposal of "vacating all their Charters, taking away the Power of their Assemblies, and sending an armed Force among them, to reduce them all to a military Government, in which the Order of the commanding Officer is to be their Law," will certainly be a very justifiable Measure. I have only some Doubts as to the Expediency of it, and the Facility of carrying it into Execution. For I apprehend 'tis not unlikely they may set their Rumps more stiffly against this Method of Government, than ever they did against that by Act of Parliament. But, on second Thoughts, I conceive it may possibly do very well; For though there should be, as 'tis said there are, at least 250000 fighting Men among them, many of whom have lately seen Service; yet, as one Englishman is to be sure as good as five Americans, I suppose it will not require Armies above 50,000 Men in the whole, sent over to the different Parts of that extensive Continent, for reducing them; and that a three or four Year's Civil War, at perhaps less Expence than ten or twelve Millions a Year, Transports, and Carriages included, will be sufficient to compleat Pacificus's Pacification, notwithstanding any disturbance our restless Enemies in Europe might think fit to give us while engaged in this necessary Work. I mention three or four Years only; for I can never believe the Americans will be able to spin it out to seventy, as the Hollanders did the War for their Liberties against Spain, how much soever it may be found the Interest of our own numerous Commissaries, Contractors, and Officers afraid of Half Pay, to continue and protract it.

It may be objected, that by ruining the Colonies, killing one half the People, and driving the rest over the Mountains, we may deprive ourselves of their Custom for our Manu-

factures: But a Moment's Consideration will satisfy us, that since we have lost so much of our European Trade, it can only be the Demand in America that keeps up, and has of late so greatly enhanced the Price of those Manufactures, and therefore a stop put to that Demand will be an Advantage to us all, as we may thereafter buy our own Goods cheaper for our own Use at Home. I can think of but one Objection more, which is, that Multitudes of our Poor may starve for want of Employment. But our wise Laws have provided a Remedy for that. The Rich are to maintain them.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

PACIFICUS SECUNDUS.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE *Gazetteer*,[1] JANUARY 2, 1766.

VINDEX PATRIAE, a writer in your paper, comforts himself, and the India Company, with the fancy, that the Americans, should they resolve to drink no more tea, can by no means keep that Resolution, their Indian corn not affording "an agreeable, or easy digestible breakfast." Pray let me, an American, inform the gentleman, who seems ignorant of the matter, that Indian corn, take it for all in all, is one of the most agreeable and wholesome grains in the world; that its green leaves roasted are a delicacy beyond expression; that samp, hominy, succatash, and nokehock, made of it, are so many pleasing varieties; and that johny or hoecake, hot from the fire, is better than a Yorkshire muffin — But

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, February 23, 1767. — ED.

if Indian corn were as disagreeable and indigestible as the Stamp Act, does he imagine we can get nothing else for breakfast? — Did he never hear that we have oatmeal in plenty, for water gruel or burgoo; as good wheat, rye and barley as the world affords, to make frumenty; or toast and ale; that there is every where plenty of milk, butter and cheese; that rice is one of our staple commodities; that for tea, we have sage and bawm in our gardens, the young leaves of the sweet white hickery or walnut, and, above all, the buds of our pine, infinitely preferable to any tea from the Indies; while the islands yield us plenty of coffee and chocolate? — Let the gentleman do us the honour of a visit in America, and I will engage to breakfast him every day in the month with a fresh variety, without offering him either tea or Indian corn. — As to the Americans using no more of the former, I am not sure they will take such a resolution; but if they do, I fancy they will not lightly break it. I question whether the army proposed to be sent among them, would oblige them to swallow a drop more of tea than they chuse to swallow; for, as the proverb says, though one man may *lead* a horse to the water, ten *can't make him drink*. Their resolutions have hitherto been pretty steadily kept. They resolved to wear no more mourning; — and it is now totally out of fashion with near two millions of people; and yet nobody sighs for Norwich crapes, or any other of the expensive, flimsey, rotten, black stuffs and cloths you used to send us for that purpose, with the frippery gauses, loves, ribands, gloves, &c. thereunto belonging. — They resolved last spring to eat no more lamb; and not a joint of lamb has since been seen on any of their tables, throughout a country of 1500 miles extent, but the sweet little creatures

are all alive to this day, with the prettiest fleeces on their backs imaginable. Mr. Vindex's very civil letter will, I dare say, be printed in all our provincial news-papers, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia; and together with the other kind, polite and humane epistles of your correspondents Pacificus, Tom Hint, &c. &c. contribute not a little to strengthen us in every resolution that may be of advantage, to *our* country at least, if not to *yours*.

HOMESPUN.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE

Gazetteer,[1] JANUARY 14, 1766.

TOM HINT'S virulence against the people of New-York has been in some sort accounted for by himself, in one of his former letters. It seems, tho' he lived several years in that country, they never extended to him any of that civility they generally shew to strangers. He now tells us, in your paper of Saturday, by way of fresh abuse on that whole people, that "he admires their wonderful sagacity in distinguishing the gentleman from the scoundrel; for in serious truth, it would be a difficult matter for an old country-man to make that distinction among them, after living with them for many years." This will excuse my remarking, that this old country man has little of that sagacity himself, and from the difficulty he supposed in making such distinction, might naturally conceive an opinion when he arrived there, that he should be able easily to pass upon those ignorant new-country men, as a gentleman. The event, it seems, did not

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 9, 1767. — ED.

answer his expectations; and hence he had reason to admire their sagacity, but still continues to be angry at its consequences — It puts me in mind of a short story, which, in return for his scraps of plays, I will take the liberty of telling him. Two journeymen Snips during the season of little business, agreed to make a trip to Paris, with each a fine lac'd waistcoat, in which they promised themselves the great pleasure of being received and treated as gentlemen. On the road from Calais at every inn, when they called for any thing hastily, they were answered, Tout a l'heure, Tout a l'heure; which not a little surprized them. At length, D—— these French scoundrels, says one, how shrewd they are! I find it won't do; — e'en let us go back again to London — Aye, says t'other, they must certainly deal with the devil, or dress'd as we are dress'd, they could not possibly all at first sight have known us to be *two taylors*.

F. B.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE

Gazetteer,[1] JANUARY 15, 1766.

. . . . . .

GIVE me leave, Master John Bull, to remind you, that you are related to all mankind; and therefore it less becomes you than anybody, to affront and abuse other nations. But you have mixed with your many virtues a pride, a haughtiness, and an insolent contempt for all but yourself, that, I am afraid, will, if not abated, procure you one day or other a handsome drubbing. Besides your rudeness to foreigners, you are far from being civil even to your own family. The

[1] Printed here from Goddard's *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, March 23, 1767. — ED.

Welch you have always despised for submitting to your government: but why despise your own English, who conquered and settled Ireland for you; who conquered and settled America for you? Yet these you now think you may treat as you please, because forsooth, they are a *conquered* people. Why despise the Scotch, who fight and die for you all over the world? Remember you courted Scotland for one hundred years, and would fain have had your wicked will of her. She virtuously resisted all your importunities; but at length kindly consented to become your lawful wife. You then solemnly promised to love, cherish, and honour her, as long as you both should live; and yet you have ever since treated her with the utmost contumely, which you now begin to extend to your common children. But, pray, when your enemies are uniting in a Family Compact against you, can it be discreet in you to kick up in your own house a Family Quarrel? And at the very time you are inviting foreigners to settle on your lands, and when you have more to settle than ever you had before, is it prudent to suffer your lawyer, Vindex, to abuse those who have settled there already, because they cannot yet speak "plain English?"— It is my opinion Master Bull, that the Scotch and Irish, as well as the Colonists are capable of speaking much plainer English than they ever yet spoke, but which I hope they will never be provoked to speak.

. . . . . .

HOMESPUN.

405. LETTER

CONCERNING THE

GRATITUDE OF AMERICA,

AND THE PROBABILITY AND EFFECTS OF A UNION WITH GREAT BRITAIN; AND CONCERNING THE REPEAL OR SUSPENSION OF THE STAMP ACT.

[London,] January 6, 1766.

SIR,

I have attentively perused the paper you sent me, and am of opinion, that the measure it proposes, of an union with the colonies, is a wise one; but I doubt it will hardly be thought so here, till it is too late to attempt it. The time has been, when the colonies would have esteemed it a great advantage, as well as honour to be permitted to send members to Parliament; and would have asked for that privilege, if they could have had the least hopes of obtaining it. The time is now come when they are indifferent about it, and will probably not ask it, though they might accept it if offered them; and the time will come, when they will certainly refuse it. But if such an union were now established (which methinks it highly imports this country to establish) it would probably subsist as long as Britain shall continue a nation. This people, however, is too proud, and too much despises the Americans, to bear the thought of admitting them to such an equitable participation in the government of the whole.

Then the next best thing seems to be, leaving them in the quiet enjoyment of their respective constitutions; and when money is wanted for any public service, in which they ought

to bear a part, calling upon them by requisitorial letters from the crown (according to the long-established custom) to grant such aids as their loyalty shall dictate, and their abilities permit. The very sensible and benevolent author of that paper seems not to have known, that such a constitutional custom subsists, and has always hitherto been practised in America; or he would not have expressed himself in this manner; "It is evident, beyond a doubt, to the intelligent and impartial, that after the very extraordinary efforts, which were effectually made by Great Britain in the late war to save the colonists from destruction, and attended of necessity with an enormous load of debts in consequence, that the same colonists, now firmly secured from foreign enemies, should be somehow induced to contribute some proportion towards the exigencies of state in future." This looks as if he conceived the war had been carried on at the sole expense of Great Britain, and the colonies only reaped the benefit, without hitherto sharing the burden, and were therefore now indebted to Britain on that account. And this is the same kind of argument that is used by those, who would fix on the colonies the heavy charge of unreasonableness and ingratitude, which I think your friend did not intend.

Please to acquaint him, then, that the fact is not so; that, every year during the war, requisitions were made by the crown on the colonies for raising money and men; that accordingly they made more extraordinary efforts, in proportion to their abilities, than Britain did; that they raised, paid, and clothed, for five or six years, near twenty-five thousand men, besides providing for other services, as building forts, equipping guard-ships, paying transports, &c. And

that this was more than their fair proportion is not merely an opinion of mine, but was the judgment of government here, in full knowledge of all the facts; for the then ministry, to make the burthen more equal, recommended the case to Parliament, and obtained a reimbursement to the Americans of about two hundred thousand pounds sterling every year; which amounted only to about two fifths of their expense; and great part of the rest lies still a load of debt upon them; heavy taxes on all their estates, real and personal, being laid by acts of their assemblies to discharge it, and yet will not discharge it in many years.

While, then, these burdens continue; while Britain restrains the colonies in every branch of commerce and manufactures that she thinks interferes with her own; while she drains the colonies, by her trade with them, of all the cash they can procure by every art and industry in any part of the world, and thus keeps them always in her debt; (for they can make no law to discourage the importation of your to *them* ruinous superfluities, as *you* do the superfluities of France; since such a law would immediately be reported against by your Board of Trade, and repealed by the crown;) I say, while these circumstances continue, and while there subsists the established method of royal requisitions for raising money on them by their own assemblies on every proper occasion; can it be necessary or prudent to distress and vex them by taxes laid here, in a Parliament wherein they have no representative, and in a manner which they look upon to be unconstitutional and subversive of their most valuable rights? And are they to be thought unreasonable and ungrateful if they oppose such taxes?

Wherewith, they say, shall we show our loyalty to our

gracious King, if our money is to be given by others, without asking our consent? And, if the Parliament has a right thus to take from us a penny in the pound, where is the line drawn that bounds that right, and what shall hinder their calling, whenever they please, for the other nineteen shillings and eleven pence? Have we then any thing that we can call our own? It is more than probable, that bringing representatives from the colonies to sit and act here as members of Parliament, thus uniting and consolidating your dominions, would in a little time remove these objections and difficulties, and make the future government of the colonies easy; but, till some such thing is done, I apprehend no taxes, laid there by Parliament here, will ever be collected, but such as must be stained with blood; and I am sure the profit of such taxes will never answer the expense of collecting them, and that the respect and affection of the Americans to this country will in the struggle be totally lost, perhaps never to be recovered; and therewith all the commercial and political advantages, that might have attended the continuance of this respect and this affection.

In my own private judgment, I think an immediate repeal of the Stamp Act would be the best measure for this country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for that. The repeal would fill them with joy and gratitude, reëstablish their respect and veneration for Parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it; hence the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new-assumed home industry would languish. But the suspension, though it might continue

their fears and anxieties, would at the same time keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality; which in two or three years would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as the repeal will probably not be now agreed to,[1] from what I think a mistaken opinion, that the honour and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered; we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries, is the suspension; for, as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole.

The rest of your friend's reasonings and propositions appear to me truly just and judicious. I will therefore only add, that I am as desirous of his acquaintance and intimacy, as he was of my opinion.

I am, with much esteem,

Your obliged friend,

B. FRANKLIN.[2]

[1] It was, however, agreed to in the same year, viz. in 1766. — V.

[2] The name of the person, to whom this letter is addressed, is not known. The letter, to which it is a reply, appears to have contained the letter of some third person equally unknown. — V.

406. Ms. REPORT BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN OF WILLIAM PITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THE STAMP ACT.

Addressed to "Mr. Strahan, Printer, New Street, Shoe Lane." No date.[1]

MR. PITT spoke some time before one could divine on which side of the Question relating to America he would be; but beginning first to mention the Stamp Act by the soft Term of that *unhappy* Act, he went on, and every Time he had Occasion to mention it, it was by a Term still stronger, as *unconstitutional*, *unjust*, *oppressive* etc. till he finally declar'd in express Terms that the British Parliament had in his Opinion *no Right* to raise internal Taxes in America, tho' it had to regulate their Commerce, and even restrain their Manufactures. He said many Things in favour of America, particularly that they had always readily granted Aids to the Crown in all our Wars, on Requisitions made to their several Assemblies, and particularly in the last War far beyond their Abilities, which the Parl[t] here considering had made them some Compensation; that the Act was therefore *unnecessary;* that no Minis-

[1] Pitt's speech on the Stamp Act was delivered January 14, 1766. It was printed in Hansard, Vol. XVI, 97–101. The debate was taken by Sir Robert Dean, assisted by the Earl of Charlemont. The whole debate was published in "Political Debates: à Paris, chez J. W. Imprimeur, rue du Colombier Fauxbourg St. Germain, à l'Hotel de Saxe, MDCCLXVI. [Prix 30 sous]." A false place of impression was put upon the book in order to evade the resentment of the House. Franklin must have written this report in January, 1766, and sent it to Mr. Strahan. The manuscript is in the possession of Hon. S. W. Pennypacker. — ED.

ter before the last (naming all the Ministers in order from the Revolution and giving their Characters, some of whom were remarkable for their Firmness and Resolution, as well as their Understanding,) had ever thought fit or ventur'd to tax the Colonies; that he himself was sometimes represented as rash enough for anything; and there had not been wanting some during his Adm^{n} that urg'd him to it as a thing that would have been acceptable to Gentlemen here, but they could not get him to burn his Fingers, with so unnecessary, so unjust, and therefore so odious a Measure: The Arguments of virtual Representation, of the Case of the Colonies being the same with that of Corporations in England, or of the Non-Electors here, he treated with great Contempt as trifling, insignificant, and ridiculous; asserted that Representation in Parl^{t} was originally and properly of *Landed Property;* that every 40^{s} a Year of landed Property in England still is represented by the Owners having a Right to vote in County Elections; but that tho' a Man in America had £1000 a Year in Land, it gave him no right to vote for a single Member of Parliam^{t} That the Representation of the Commons was not an original Part of the Constitution; the Owners of Lands only were call'd to Parliam^{t}, and all the Lands in England were divided between the King, the Church, and the Barons. The Church, God bless it, had one Third at least. The Commons were mere Tenants or Copy holders. But now the Case was greatly alter'd. The Church was stript of most of its Lands, and the Nobles had sold so much of theirs, that what remain'd in their Hands was but like a Drop of the Bucket compar'd to what was now in the Hands of the Commons. It was therefore on Acc^{t} of their Lands pro-

perly that the Commons were represented in Parliament. As to the Representatives of Boroughs, it was wrong to suffer their sitting in Parliam[t] It was the rotten Part of our Constitution, and could not stand another Century. How could we with any Face maintain, that a Burrough of half a dozen Houses ought to have a Representative in Parl[t] to take care of its Interests; and yet three Millions of People in America with many Millions of Landed Property should not have a single Vote in the Election of any one Member.

Mr. Grenville saying in Defense of the Act that he had before the Measure was entred into, call'd upon the House, and ask'd if there was any one Member that doubted the Right of Parliament to lay an internal Tax on America; and there was not one. Mr. Pitt answered, that that by no means prov'd the Rectitude of the Measure: for that there had long been in the House a Tenderness of opposing Ministerial Measures, a kind of — what shall I call it — Modesty, that made the Members rather doubt their own Judgments. He wish'd therefore that the young Members would apply themselves more to the Study of Publick Affairs, and qualifie themselves better to judge of them. That their Silence should be no Proof of the goodness of a ministerial Measure, he reminded the House, that from Year to Year he had in the same Manner call'd upon the House, to know if any one dislik'd our then Continental Connections, and but one ever took the Freedom to speak his Mind on that Head, and he should like him the better for it as long as he liv'd; "for he indeed said frankly, that he did not like what he was pleas'd to call my German War." [1] But with the rest it went down glibly. That Oppositions were generally in-

[1] Lord le Despencer, formerly Sir Francis Dashwood. — ED.

terested, but his Sentiments of this Act had always been the same, and he had ever dislik'd it as destructive to *Liberty;* a Word often made use of by ambitious Men, only as a *Horse* on which they might *mount and ride into Preferment;* but he had no such Views.

Mr. Conway remark'd on this that the Preferment he was *in* was not of his own seeking; and that whenever the hon^ble^ Gentleman for whose Abilities and Integrity he had the highest Veneration should be, as he sincerely hop'd he would soon be, appointed to supersede him, he should with great Pleasure *mount his Horse and ride out again.*

These are the Particulars you chiefly desir'd an Acc^t^ of. 'Tis the best I can give you. But I am sensible the Expression is far short of that us'd by the Speakers.

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407. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN[1] (P. C.)

London, February 22, 1766.

My dear Child,

I am excessively hurried, being, every hour that I am awake, either abroad to speak with members of Parliament, or taken up with people coming to me at home concerning our American affairs, so that I am much behindhand in answering my friends' letters. But though I cannot by this opportunity write to others, I must not omit a line to you, who kindly write me so many. I am well. It is all I can say at present, except that I am just made very happy by a vote of the Commons for the repeal of the Stamp Act. Your ever loving husband,

B. Franklin.

[1] The original letter is in the Fonthill collection, the property of Mrs. Alfred Morrison. — Ed.

408. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Feb. 27, 1766.

My dear Child,

I wrote you a few days ago by Mr. Penrose, via Maryland, when I wrote also to the Speaker, to Mr. Galloway, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Hall. I have now as little time as then to enlarge, having wrote besides to-day so much, that I am almost blind. But, by the March Packet, I shall freely answer your late Letters. Let the Vaults alone till my Return. As you have a WoodYard, perhaps they may not be necessary. I send you some curious Beans for your Garden. Love to Sally & all Relations; and to all the Ladies that do me the Honour to enquire after me. I congratulate you on the soon expected Repeal of the Stamp Act; and on the great Share of Health we both enjoy, tho' now going in Fourscore. (that is, in the fourth score.) Mr. Whitfield call'd to-day, & tells me a surprizing Piece of News. Mr. Dunlap is come here from Barbadoes, was ordain'd Deacon on Saturday last, and Priest on Sunday. Inclos'd are a few of my Political Cards. In haste, but very well. I am, my dear Girl, your ever loving Husband,

B. Franklin.

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409. TO HUGH ROBERTS[1]

London, Feb. 27, 1766.

Dear Friend,

I receiv'd your kind Letter of Nov. 27. You cannot conceive how much Good the cordial Salutations of an old Friend

[1] From the original in the Museum of Independence Hall, Philadelphia; presented by Mr. C. Morton Smith. — Ed.

do the Heart of a Man so far from home, and hearing frequently of the Abuses thrown on him in his Absence by the Enemies, that Party has rais'd against him. In the mean time, I hope I have done even those Enemies some Service in our late Struggle for America. It has been a hard one, and we have been often between Hope and Despair; but now the Day begins to clear. The Ministry are fix'd for us, and we have obtain'd a Majority in the House of Commons for Repealing the Stamp Act, and giving us Ease in every Commercial Grievance. God grant that no bad News of farther Excesses in America may arrive to strengthen our Adversaries, and weaken the hands of our Friends, before this good Work is quite compleated.

The Partisans of the late Ministry have been strongly crying out *Rebellion*, and calling for Force to be sent against America. The Consequence might have been terrible; but milder Measures have prevailed. I hope, nay, I am confident, America will show itself grateful to Britain on this Occasion, and behave prudently and decently.

I have got a Seal done for four Guineas, which I shall send per Friend. My Respects to good Mrs. Roberts, and to your valuable Son. Remember me affectionately to the Junto, and to all enquiring Friends. Adieu, my dear Friend. Your Integrity will always make you happy. Believe me ever yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

410. TO CHARLES THOMSON [1]

London, Feby 27, 1766.

My good Friend and Neighbour,

I forgot whether I before acknowledged the Receipt of your kind Letter of Sept. 24. I gave an Extract of it to a Friend, with an extract from mine to which it was an answer, and he printed both in the *London Chronicle*, with an Introduction of his own; and I have reprinted every thing from America, that I thought might help our Common Cause.

We at length, after a long and hard struggle, have gained so much ground, that there is now little Doubt the Stamp Act will be repealed, and reasonable relief given us besides in our Commercial grievances and those relating to our Currency. I trust the Behaviour of the Americans on the occasion will be so prudent, decent, and grateful, as that their Friends here will have no reason to be ashamed, and that our enemies, who predict that the Indulgence of Parliament will only make us more insolent and ungovernable, may find themselves, and be found, false Prophets.

My Respects to Mrs. Thomson. I have not had the Pleasure of hearing from you by any of the late opportunities, but am so bad a correspondent myself that I have no right to take Exceptions, and am, nevertheless, your affectionate Friend and very humble servant, B. Franklin.

[1] From the original in the New York Historical Society. — Ed.

411. THE EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR BENJAMIN FRANKLIN &c.,

IN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,

RELATIVE TO THE REPEAL OF THE AMERICAN STAMP ACT, IN 1766.

No previous event in the life of Dr. Franklin gave him so much celebrity, as his examination before the House of Commons, while the repeal of the Stamp Act was under discussion in Parliament. The promptness and pertinency with which he replied to every question, the perfect knowledge of the subject manifested in his answers, his enlarged and sound views of political and commercial affairs, and the boldness and candor with which he expressed his sentiments, excited the surprise of his auditors, and were received with admiration by the public, when the results of the examination appeared in print. The dates are fixed by the following extracts from the journal of the House of Commons, as given by Mr. Vaughan.

"*February 3d*, 1766. Benjamin Franklin and a number of other persons ordered to attend the committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider farther the several papers, which were presented to the House by Mr. Secretary Conway.

"*February 13th*. Benjamin Franklin, having passed through his examination, was excepted from farther attendance.

"*February 24th*. The resolutions of the committee were reported by the chairman, Mr. Fuller; their seventh and last resolution setting forth, that it was their opinion that the House be moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the Stamp Act."

The account of the examination was first published in 1767, without the name of printer or publisher. It was translated into French, and widely circulated in Europe. It has been frequently reprinted in both the English and French languages. — S.

The first edition was published in 1766, without any clue "either to when the examination was held, or when or by whom it was printed." Almon evidently feared prosecution, and the printers of most of the subsequent editions used much the same precautions. As no prosecution was instituted Almon became bolder, and issued an edition with a title [The Examination of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Relative to the

Repeal of the American Stamp Act, in MDCCLXVI [London: J. Almon] MDCCLXVII] Ford. I have reprinted from the first edition, and have indicated in the foot-notes every instance in which the second edition varies from the first. — ED.

Q. WHAT is your name, and place of abode?

A. Franklin, of Philadelphia.

Q. Do the Americans pay any considerable taxes among themselves?

A. Certainly many, and very heavy taxes.

Q. What are the present taxes in Pennsylvania, laid by the laws of the colony?

A. There are taxes on all estates real and personal, a poll tax, a tax on all offices, professions, trades and businesses, according to their profits; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits; and a duty of Ten Pounds per head on all Negroes imported, with some other duties.

Q. For what purposes are those taxes laid?

A. For the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the heavy debt contracted in the last war.

Q. How long are those taxes to continue?

A. Those for discharging the debt are to continue till 1772, and longer, if the debt should not be then all discharged. The others must always continue.

Q. Was it not expected that the debt would have been sooner discharged?

A. It was, when the peace was made with France and Spain — But, a fresh war breaking out with the Indians, a fresh load of debt was incurred; and the taxes, of course, continued longer by a new law.

Q. Are not all the people very able to pay those taxes?

A. No. The frontier counties, all along the continent, having been frequently ravaged by the enemy and greatly impoverished, are able to pay very little tax. And therefore, in consideration of their distresses, our late tax laws do expressly favour those counties, excusing the sufferers; and I suppose the same is done in other governments.

Q. Are not you concerned in the management of the Post-Office in America?

A. Yes. I am Deputy Post-Master General of North-America.

Q. Don't you think the distribution of stamps by post to all the inhabitants very practicable, if there was no opposition?

A. The posts only go along the seacoasts; they do not, except in a few instances, go back into the country; and if they did, sending for stamps by post would occasion an expence of postage amounting, in many cases, to much more than that of the stamps themselves.

Q. Are you acquainted with Newfoundland?

A. I never was there.

Q. Do you know whether there are any post-roads on that island?

A. I have heard that there are no roads at all; but that the communication between one settlement and another is by sea only.

Q. Can you disperse the stamps by post in Canada?

A. There is only a post between Montreal and Quebec. The inhabitants live so scattered and remote from each other, in that vast country, that posts cannot be supported among them, and therefore they cannot get stamps per post. The

English Colonies too, along the frontiers, are very thinly settled.

Q. From the thinness of the back settlements, would not the stamp act be extremely inconvenient to the inhabitants, if executed?

A. To be sure it would; as many of the inhabitants could not get stamps when they had occasion for them without taking long journeys, and spending perhaps Three or Four Pounds, that the Crown might get Six pence.

Q. Are not the Colonies, from their circumstances, very able to pay the stamp duty?

A. In my opinion there is not gold and silver enough in the Colonies to pay the stamp duty for one year.

Q. Don't you know that the money arising from the stamps was all to be laid out in America?

A. I know it is appropriated by the act to the American service; but it will be spent in the conquered Colonies, where the soldiers are, not in the Colonies that pay it.

Q. Is there not a balance of trade due from the Colonies where the troops are posted, that will bring back the money to the old colonies?

A. I think not. I believe very little would come back. I know of no trade likely to bring it back. I think it would come from the Colonies where it was spent directly to England; for I have always observed, that in every Colony the more plenty the means of remittance to England, the more goods are sent for, and the more trade with England carried on.

Q. What number of white inhabitants do you think there are in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose there may be about 160,000.

Q. What number of them are Quakers?

A. Perhaps a third.

Q. What number of Germans?

A. Perhaps another third; but I cannot speak with certainty.

Q. Have any number of the Germans seen service, as soldiers, in Europe?

A. Yes, many of them, both in Europe and America.

Q. Are they as much dissatisfied with the stamp duty as the English?

A. Yes, and more; and with reason, as their stamps are, in many cases, to be double.[1]

Q. How many white men do you suppose there are in North America?

A. About 300,000, from sixteen to sixty years of age.

Q. What may be the amount of one year's imports into Pennsylvania from Britain?

A. I have been informed that our merchants compute the imports from Britain to be above 500,000 Pounds.

Q. What may be the amount of the produce of your province exported to Britain?

A. It must be small, as we produce little that is wanted in Britain. I suppose it cannot exceed 40,000 Pounds.

Q. How then do you pay the balance?

A. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the West-Indies, and sold in our own islands, or to the French, Spaniards, Danes, and Dutch; by the same carried to other colonies in North-America, as to New-England, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia; by the same, carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Por-

[1] doubled, 2d ed. — ED.

tugal, and Italy. In all which places we receive either money, bills of Exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain; which, together with all the profits on the industry of our merchants and mariners, arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, center finally in Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the province, or sold to foreigners by our traders.

Q. Have you heard of any difficulties lately laid on the Spanish trade?

A. Yes, I have heard, that it has been greatly obstructed by some new regulations, and by the English men-of-war and cutters stationed all along the coast of America.

Q. Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expence?

A. That is not the case. The Colonies raised, cloathed and payed, during the last war, near 25000 men, and spent many millions.

Q. Were you not reimbursed by parliament?

A. We were only reimbursed what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, or beyond what might reasonably be expected from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania, in particular, disbursed about 500,000 Pounds, and the reimbursements, in the whole, did not exceed 60,000 Pounds.

Q. You have said that you pay heavy taxes in Pennsylvania; what do they amount to in the Pound?

A. The tax on all estates, real and personal, is Eighteen Pence in the Pound, fully rated; and the tax on the profits of trades and professions, with other taxes, do, I suppose, make full Half a Crown in the Pound.

Q. Do you know any thing of the rate of exchange in Pennsylvania, and whether it has fallen lately?

A. It is commonly from 170 to 175. I have heard, that it has fallen lately from 175 to 162 and a half; owing, I suppose, to their lessening their orders for goods; and when their debts to this country are paid, I think the exchange will probably be at par.

Q. Do not you think the people of America would submit to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?

A. No, never, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Are not the taxes in Pennsylvania laid on unequally, in order to burthen the English trade; particularly the tax on professions and business?

A. It is not more burthensome in proportion than the tax on lands. It is intended and supposed to take an equal proportion of profits.

Q. How is the assembly composed? Of what kinds of people are the members, landholders or traders?

A. It is composed of landholders, merchants, and artificers.

Q. Are not the majority landholders?

A. I believe they are.

Q. Do not they, as much as possible, shift the tax off from the land, to ease that, and lay the burthen heavier on trade?

A. I have never understood it so. I never heard such a thing suggested. And indeed an attempt of that kind could answer no purpose. The merchant or trader is always skilled in figures, and ready with his pen and ink. If unequal burthens are laid on his trade, he puts an additional price on his goods; and the consumers, who are chiefly landholders, finally pay the greatest part, if not the whole.

Q. What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?

A. The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to acts of parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expence only of a little pen, ink and paper. They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great-Britain; for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an Old-England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

Q. And what is their temper now?

A. O, very much altered.

Q. Did you ever hear the authority of parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?

A. The authority of parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce.

Q. In what proportion hath population increased in America?

A. I think the inhabitants of all the provinces together, taken at a medium, double in about 25 years. But their demand for British manufactures increases much faster, as the consumption is not merely in proportion to their numbers, but grows with the growing abilities of the same numbers to pay for them. In 1723, the whole importation from Britain to Pennsylvania, was but about 15,000 Pounds Sterling; it is now near Half a Million.

Q. In what light did the people of America use to consider the parliament of Great-Britain?

A. They considered the parliament as the great bulwark and security of their liberties and privileges, and always spoke of it with the utmost respect and veneration. Arbitrary ministers, they thought, might possibly, at times, attempt to oppress them; but they relied on it, that the parliament, on application, would always give redress. They remembered, with gratitude, a strong instance of this, when a bill was brought into parliament, with a clause, to make royal instructions laws in the colonies, which the House of Commons would not pass, and it was thrown out.

Q. And have they not still the same respect for parliament?

A. No, it is greatly lessened.

Q. To what causes[1] is that owing?

A. To a concurrence of causes; the restraints lately laid on their trade, by which the bringing of foreign gold and silver into the Colonies was prevented; the prohibition of making paper money among themselves; and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps; taking away, at the same time, trials by juries, and refusing to receive and hear their humble petitions.

Q. Don't you think they would submit to the stamp-act, if it was modified, the obnoxious parts taken out, and the duty reduced to some particulars, of small moment?

A. No; they will never submit to it.

Q. What do you think is the reason that the people of[2] America increase faster than in England?

A. Because they marry younger, and more generally.

Q. Why so?

[1] cause, 2d ed. — Ed.

[2] in, 2d ed. — Ed.

A. Because any young couple, that are industrious, may easily obtain land of their own, on which they can raise a family.

Q. Are not the lower rank[1] of people more at their ease in America than in England?

A. They may be so, if they are sober and diligent, as they are better paid for their labour.

Q. What is your opinion of a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the stamp-act? How would the Americans receive it?

A. Just as they do this. They would not pay it.

Q. Have not you heard of the resolutions of this House, and of the House of Lords, asserting the right of parliament relating to America, including a power to tax the people there?

A. Yes, I have heard of such resolutions.

Q. What will be the opinion of the Americans on those resolutions?

A. They will think them unconstitutional and unjust.

Q. Was it an opinion in America before 1763, that the parliament had no right to lay taxes and duties there?

A. I never heard any objection to the right of laying duties to regulate commerce; but a right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in parliament, as we are not represented there.

Q. On what do you found your opinion, that the people in America made any such distinction?

A. I know that whenever the subject has occurred in conversation where I have been present, it has appeared to be the opinion of every one, that we could not be taxed by a parliament where[2] we were not represented. But the payment

[1] ranks, 2d ed. — ED.

[2] wherein, 2d ed. — ED.

of duties laid by an act of parliament, as regulations of commerce, was never disputed.

Q. But can you name any act of assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?

A. I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make any such act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; that has occasioned resolutions of assembly, declaring the distinction, in which I think every assembly on the continent, and every member in every assembly, have been unanimous.

Q. What, then, could occasion conversations on that subject before that time?

A. There was in 1754 a proposition made, (I think it came from hence) that in case of a war, which was then apprehended, the governors of the Colonies should meet, and order the levying of troops, building of forts, and taking every other necessary measure for the general defence; and should draw on the treasury here for the sums expended, which were afterwards to be raised in the colonies by a general tax, to be laid on them by act of parliament. This occasioned a good deal of conversation on the subject; and the general opinion was, that the parliament neither would nor could lay any tax on us, till we were duly represented in parliament; because it was not just, nor agreeable to the nature of an English constitution.

Q. Don't you know there was a time in New-York, when it was under consideration to make an application to parliament to lay taxes on that Colony, upon a deficiency arising from the assembly's refusing or neglecting to raise the necessary supplies for the support of the civil government?

A. I never heard of it.

Q. There was such an application under consideration in New-York; and do you apprehend they could suppose the right of parliament to lay a tax in America was only local, and confined to the case of a deficiency in a particular Colony, by a refusal of its assembly to raise the necessary supplies?

A. They could not suppose such a case, as that the assembly would not raise the necessary supplies to support its own government. An assembly that would refuse it must want common sense; which cannot be supposed. I think there was never any such case at New-York, and that it must be a misrepresentation, or the fact must be misunderstood. I know there have been some attempts, by ministerial instructions from hence, to oblige the assemblies to settle permanent salaries on governors, which they wisely refused to do; but I believe no assembly of New York, or any other Colony, ever refused duly to support government by proper allowances, from time to time, to public officers.

Q. But in case a governor, acting by instruction, should call on an assembly to raise the necessary supplies, and the assembly should refuse to do it, do you not think it would then be for the good of the people of the colony, as well as necessary to government, that the parliament should tax them?

A. I do not think it would be necessary. If an assembly could possibly be so absurd, as to refuse raising the supplies requisite for the maintenance of government among them, they could not long remain in such a situation; the disorders and confusion occasioned by it must soon bring them to reason.

Q. If it should not, ought not the right to be in Great Britain of applying a remedy?

A. A right, only to be used in such a case, I should have no objection to; supposing it to be used merely for the good of the people of the Colony.

Q. But who is to judge of that, Britain or the Colony?

A. Those that feel can best judge.

Q. You say the Colonies have always submitted to external taxes, and object to the right of parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you shew, that there is any kind of difference between the two taxes to the Colony on which they may be laid?

A. I think the difference is very great. An external tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost and other charges on the commodity, and, when it is offered to sale, makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an internal tax is forced from the people without their consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The stamp act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase, nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it.

Q. But supposing the internal[1] tax or duty to be laid on the necessaries of life, imported into your colony, will not that be the same thing in its effects as an internal tax?

A. I do not know a single article imported into the Northern Colonies, but what they can either do without, or make themselves.

Q. Don't you think cloth from England absolutely necessary to them?

[1] external, 2d ed. — ED.

A. No, by no means absolutely necessary; with industry and good management, they may very well supply themselves with all they want.

Q. Will it not take a long time to establish that manufacture among them; and must they not in the mean while suffer greatly?

A. I think not. They have made a surprising progress already. And I am of opinion, that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making.

Q. Can they possibly find wool enough in North America?

A. They have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combinations to eat no more lamb, and very few lambs were killed last year. This course persisted in, will soon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. And the establishing of great manufactories, like those in the clothing towns here, is not necessary, as it is where the business is to be carried on for the purposes of trade. The people will all spin, and work for themselves, in their own houses.

Q. Can there be wool and manufacture enough in one or two years?

A. In three years, I think there may.

Q. Does not the severity of the winter, in the Northern Colonies, occasion the wool to be of bad quality?

A. No; the wool is very fine and good.

Q. In the more Southern Colonies, as in Virginia, don't you know, that the wool is coarse, and only a kind of hair?

A. I don't know it. I never heard it. Yet I have been sometimes in Virginia. I cannot say I ever took particular notice of the wool there, but I believe it is good, though I cannot speak positively of it; but Virginia and the Colonies

south of it have less occasion for wool; their winters are short, and not very severe; and they can very well clothe themselves with linen and cotton of their own raising for the rest of the year.

Q. Are not the people in the more Northern Colonies obliged to fodder their sheep all the winter?

A. In some of the most Northern Colonies they may be obliged to do it, some part of the winter.

Q. Considering the resolutions of parliament, as to the right, do you think, if the stamp act is repealed, that the North Americans will be satisfied?

A. I believe they will.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I think the resolutions of right will give them very little concern, if they are never attempted to be carried into practice. The Colonies will probably consider themselves in the same situation, in that respect, with Ireland; they know you claim the same right with regard to Ireland, but you never exercise it. And they may believe you never will exercise it in the Colonies, any more than in Ireland, unless on some very extraordinary occasion.

Q. But who are to be the judges of that extraordinary occasion? Is not the parliament?

A. Though the parliament may judge of the occasion, the people will think it can never exercise such right, till representatives from the Colonies are admitted into parliament; and that, when ever the occasion arises, representatives will be ordered.

Q. Did you never hear that Maryland, during the last war, had refused to furnish a quota towards the common defence?

A. Maryland has been much misrepresented in that matter. Maryland, to my knowledge, never refused to contribute or grant aids to the crown. The assemblies, every year, during the war, voted considerable sums, and formed bills to raise them. The bills were, according to the constitution of that province, sent up to the council, or upper house, for concurrence, that they might be presented to the governor, in order to be enacted into laws. Unhappy disputes between the two houses, arising from the defects of that constitution principally, rendered all the bills but one or two, abortive. The proprietary's council rejected them. It is true, Maryland did not [1] contribute its proportion; but it was, in my opinion, the fault of the government, not of the people.

Q. Was it not talked of in the other provinces, as a proper measure, to apply to parliament to compel them?

A. I have heard such discourse; but, as it was well known that the people were not to blame, no such application was ever made, nor any step taken towards it.

Q. Was it not proposed at a public meeting?

A. Not that I know of?

Q. Do you remember the abolishing of the paper currency in New England, by act of assembly?

A. I do remember its being abolished in the Massachusett's Bay.

Q. Was not Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson principally concerned in that transaction?

A. I have heard so.

Q. Was it not at that time a very unpopular law?

A. I believe it might, though I can say little about it, as I lived at a distance from that province.

[1] did not *then* contribute, 2d ed. — ED.

Q. Was not the scarcity of gold and silver an argument used against abolishing the paper?

A. I suppose it was.

Q. What is the present opinion there of that[1] law? Is it as unpopular as it was at first?

A. I think it is not.

Q. Have not instructions from hence been sometimes sent over to governors, highly oppressive and unpolitical?

A. Yes.

Q. Have not some governors dispensed with them for that reason?

A. Yes, I have heard so.

Q. Did the Americans ever dispute the controuling power of parliament to regulate the commerce?

A. No.

Q. Can any thing less than a military force carry the stamp act into execution?

A. I do not see how a military force can be applied to that purpose.

Q. Why may it not?

A. Suppose a military force sent into America, they will find nobody in arms; what are they then to do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chuses to do without them. They will not find a rebellion; they may indeed make one.

Q. If the act is not repealed, what do you think will be the consequences?

A. A total loss of the respect and affection the people of America bear to this country, and of all the commerce that depends on that respect and affection.

[1] the law, 2d ed. — ED.

Q. How can the commerce be affected?

A. You will find, that if the act is not repealed, they will take very little of your manufactures in a short time.

Q. Is it in their power to do without them?

A. I think they may very well do without them.

Q. Is it their interest not to take them?

A. The goods they take from Britain are either necessaries, mere conveniences, or superfluities. The first, as cloth, &c. with a little industry they can make at home; the second they can do without, till they are able to provide them among themselves; and the last, which are much the greatest part, they will strike off immediately. They are mere articles of fashion, purchased and consumed because the fashion in a respected country; but will now be detested and rejected. The people have already struck off, by general agreement, the use of all goods fashionable in mournings, and many thousand pounds worth are sent back as unsaleable.

Q. Is it their interest to make cloth at home?

A. I think they may at present get it cheaper from Britain, I mean of the same fineness and workmanship; but, when one considers other circumstances, the restraints on their trade, and the difficulty of making remittances, it is their interest to make every thing.

Q. Suppose an act of internal regulations connected with a tax; how would they receive it?

A. I think it would be objected to.

Q. Then no regulation with a tax would be submitted to?

A. Their opinion is, that, when aids to the Crown are wanted, they are to be asked of the several assemblies,

according to the old established usage; who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. And that their money ought not to be given away, without their consent, by persons at a distance, unacquainted with their circumstances and abilities. The granting aids to the Crown is the only means they have of recommending themselves to their sovereign; and they think it extremely hard and unjust, that a body of men, in which they have no representatives, should make a merit to itself of giving and granting what is not its own, but theirs; and deprive them of a right they esteem of the utmost value and importance, as it is the security of all their other rights.

Q. But is not the post-office, which they have long received, a tax as well as a regulation?

A. No; the money paid for the postage of a letter is not of the nature of a tax; it is merely a quantum meruit for a service done; no person is compellable to pay the money if he does not chuse to receive the service. A man may still, as before the act, send his letter by a servant, a special messenger, or a friend, if he thinks it cheaper and safer.

Q. But do they not consider the regulations of the post-office, by the act of last year, as a tax?

A. By the regulations of last year the rate of postage was generally abated near thirty per cent through all America; they certainly cannot consider such abatement as a tax.

Q. If an excise was laid by parliament, which they might likewise avoid paying, by not consuming the articles excised, would they then not object to it?

A. They would certainly object to it, as an excise is unconnected with any service done, and is merely an aid, which they think ought to be asked of them, and granted

by them, if they are to pay it; and can be granted for them by no others whatsoever, whom they have not impowered for that purpose.

Q. You say they do not object to the right of parliament, in laying duties on goods to be paid on their importation; now, is there any kind of difference between a duty on the importation of goods, and an excise on their consumption?

A. Yes, a very material one; an excise, for the reasons I have just mentioned, they think you can have no right to lay within their country. But the sea is yours; you maintain, by your fleets, the safety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates; you may have therefore a natural and equitable right to some toll or duty on merchandizes carried through that part of your dominions, towards defraying the expence you are at in ships to maintain the safety of that carriage.

Q. Does this reasoning hold in the case of a duty laid on the produce of their lands exported? And would they not then object to such a duty?

A. If it tended to make the produce so much dearer abroad, as to lessen the demand for it, to be sure they would object to such a duty; not to your right of laying it, but they would complain of it as a burthen, and petition you to lighten it.

Q. Is not the duty paid on the tobacco exported, a duty of that kind?

A. That, I think, is only on tobacco carried coastwise, from one Colony to another, and appropriated as a fund for supporting the college at Williamsburgh, in Virginia.

Q. Have not the assemblies in the West-Indies the same natural rights with those in North-America?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. And is there not a tax laid there on their sugars exported?

A. I am not much acquainted with the West-Indies; but the duty of four and a half per cent on sugars exported was, I believe, granted by their own assemblies.

Q. How much is the poll-tax in your province laid on unmarried men?

A. It is, I think, Fifteen Shillings, to be paid by every single freeman, upwards of twenty-one years old.

Q. What is the annual amount of all the taxes in Pennsylvania?

A. I suppose about 20,000 Pounds sterling.

Q. Supposing the stamp act continued, and enforced, do you imagine that ill humour will induce the Americans to give as much for worse manufactures of their own, and use them, preferably to better of ours?

A. Yes, I think so. People will pay as freely to gratify one passion as another, their resentment as their pride.

Q. Would the people at Boston discontinue their trade?

A. The merchants are a very small number compared with the body of the people, and must discontinue their trade, if nobody will buy their goods.

Q. What are the body of the people in the Colonies?

A. They are farmers, husbandmen or planters.

Q. Would they suffer the produce of their lands to rot?

A. No; but they would not raise so much. They would manufacture more, and plough less.

Q. Would they live without the administration of justice in civil matters, and suffer all the inconveniencies of such a situation for any considerable time, rather than take the

stamps, supposing the stamps were protected by a sufficient force, where every one might have them?

A. I think the supposition impracticable, that the stamps should be so protected as that every one might have them. The act requires sub-distributors to be appointed in every county town, district, and village, and they would be necessary. But the principal distributors, who were to have had a considerable profit on the whole, have not thought it worth while to continue in the office; and I think it impossible to find sub-distributors fit to be trusted, who, for the trifling profit that must come to their share, would incur the odium, and run the hazard, that would attend it; and, if they could be found, I think it impracticable to protect the stamps in so many distant and remote places.

Q. But in places where they could be protected, would not the people use them, rather than remain in such a situation, unable to obtain any right, or recover by law any debt?

A. It is hard to say what they would do. I can only judge what other people will think, and how they will act, by what I feel within myself. I have a great many debts due to me in America, and I had rather they should remain unrecoverable by any law, than submit to the stamp act. They will be debts of honour. It is my opinion the people will either continue in that situation, or find some way to extricate themselves; perhaps by generally agreeing to proceed in the courts without stamps.

Q. What do you think a sufficient military force to protect the distribution of the stamps in every part of America?

A. A very great force; I can't say what, if the disposition of America is for a general resistance.

Q. What is the number of men in America able to bear arms, or of disciplined militia?

A. There are, I suppose, at least . . . . .

[*Question objected to. He withdrew. Called in again.*]

Q. Is the American stamp act an equal tax on the country?

A. I think not.

Q. Why so?

A. The greatest part of the money must arise from law-suits for the recovery of debts, and be paid by the lower sort of people, who were too poor easily to pay their debts. It is, therefore, a heavy tax on the poor, and a tax upon them for being poor.

Q. But will not this increase of expence be a means of lessening the number of law-suits?

A. I think not; for as the costs all fall upon the debtor, and are to be paid by him, they would be no discouragement to the creditor to bring his action.

Q. Would it not have the effect of excessive usury?

A. Yes; as an oppression of the debtor.

Q. How many ships are there laden annually in North-America with flax-seed for Ireland?

A. I cannot speak to the number of ships; but I know, that, in 1752, 10,000 hogsheads of flax-seed, each containing 7 bushels, were exported from Philadelphia to Ireland. I suppose the quantity is greatly increased since that time; and it is understood that the exportation from New-York is equal to that from Philadelphia.

Q. What becomes of the flax that grows with that flax-seed?

A. They manufacture some into coarse, and some into a middling kind of linen.

Q. Are there any slitting-mills in America?

A. I think there are three, but I believe only one at present employed. I suppose they will all be set to work, if the interruption of the trade continues.

Q. Are there any fulling mills there?

A. A great many.

Q. Did you never hear that a great quantity of stockings were contracted for, for the army, during the war, and manufactured in Philadelphia?

A. I have heard so.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would not the Americans think they could oblige the parliament to repeal every external tax-law now in force?

A. It is hard to answer questions of what people at such a distance will think.

Q. But what do you imagine they will think were the motives of repealing the act?

A. I suppose they will think that it was repealed from a conviction of its inexpediency; and they will rely upon it, that while the same inexpediency subsists, you will never attempt to make such another.

Q. What do you mean by its inexpediency?

A. I mean its inexpediency on several accounts; the poverty and inability of those who were to pay the tax; the general discontent it has occasioned; and the impracticability of enforcing it.

Q. If the act should be repealed, and the legislature should shew its resentment to the opposers of the stamp act, would the Colonies acquiesce in the authority of the legislature? What is your opinion they would do?

A. I don't doubt at all, that if the legislature repeal the stamp act, the Colonies will acquiesce in the authority.

Q. But if the legislature should think fit to ascertain its right to lay taxes, by any act laying a small tax, contrary to their opinion, would they submit to pay the tax?

A. The proceedings of the people in America have been considered too much together. The proceedings of the assemblies have been very different from those of the mobs, and should be distinguished, as having no connection with each other. The assemblies have only peaceably resolved what they take to be their rights; they have taken no measures for opposition by force; they have not built a fort, raised a man, or provided a grain of ammunition, in order to such opposition. The ringleaders of riots, they think ought to be punished; they would punish them themselves, if they could. Every sober, sensible man, would wish to see rioters punished, as, otherwise, peaceable people have no security of person or estate. But as to an internal tax, how small soever, laid by the legislature here on the people there, while they have no representatives in this legislature, I think it will never be submitted to. They will oppose it to the last. They do not consider it as at all necessary for you to raise money on them by your taxes; because they are, and always have been, ready to raise money by taxes among themselves, and to grant large sums, equal to their abilities, upon requisition from the Crown. They have not only granted equal to their abilities, but, during all the last war, they granted far beyond their abilities, and beyond their proportion with this country (you yourselves being judges), to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds; and this they did freely and readily, only on a sort of promise, from the secretary of state, that it should be recommended to parliament to make them compensation. It was accordingly

recommended to parliament, in the most honourable manner for them. America has been greatly misrepresented and abused here, in papers, and pamphlets, and speeches, as ungrateful, and unreasonable, and unjust; in having put this nation to[1] immense expence for their defence, and refusing to bear any part of that expense. The colonies raised, paid, and clothed near 25,000 men during the last war; a number equal to those sent from Britain, and far beyond their proportion; they went deeply into debt in doing this, and all their taxes and estates are mortgaged for many years to come, for discharging that debt. Government here was at that time very sensible of this. The colonies were recommended to parliament. Every year the king sent down to the house a written message to this purpose; That his Majesty, being highly sensible of the zeal and vigour with which his faithful subjects in North-America had exerted themselves, in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, recommended it to the house to take the same into consideration, and enable him to give them a proper compensation. You will find those messages on your own journals every year of the war to the very last; and you did accordingly give 200,000 Pounds annually to the Crown, to be distributed in such compensation to the Colonies.

This is the strongest of all proofs, that the Colonies, far from being unwilling to bear a share of the burthen, did exceed their proportion; for if they had done less, or had only equalled their proportion, there would have been no room or reason for compensation. Indeed, the sums, reimbursed them, were by no means adequate to the expence they incurred beyond their proportion; but they never mur-

[1] *an* immense expence, 2d ed. — ED.

mured at that; they esteemed their Sovereign's approbation of their zeal and fidelity, and the approbation of this house, far beyond any other kind of compensation; therefore there was no occasion for this act, to force money from a willing people; they had not refused giving money for the purposes of the act; no requisition had been made; they were always willing and ready to do what could reasonably be expected from them, and in this light they wish to be considered.

Q. But suppose Great-Britain should be engaged in a war in Europe, would North-America contribute to the support of it?

A. I do think they would as far as their circumstances would permit. They consider themselves as a part of the British empire, and as having one common interest with it; they may be looked on here as foreigners, but they do not consider themselves as such. They are zealous for the honour and prosperity of this nation; and, while they are well used, will always be ready to support it, as far as their little power goes. In 1739 they were called upon to assist in the expedition against Carthagena, and they sent 3,000 men to join your army. It is true, Carthagena is in America, but as remote from the Northern Colonies, as if it had been in Europe. They make no distinction of wars, as to their duty of assisting in them. I know the last war is commonly spoke of here, as entered into for the defence, or for the sake, of the people in America. I think it is quite misunderstood. It began about the limits between Canada and Nova-Scotia; about territories to which the Crown indeed laid claim, but[1] were not claimed by any British Colony; none of the lands had been granted to any Colonist; we had

[1] *which* were not, 2d ed. — ED.

therefore no particular concern or interest in that dispute. As to the Ohio, the contest there began about your right of trading in the Indian country, a right you had by the treaty of Utrecht, which the French infringed; they seized the traders and their goods, which were your manufactures; they took a fort which a company of your merchants, and their factors, and correspondents, had erected there to secure that trade. Braddock was sent with an army to retake that fort, (which was looked on here as another encroachment on the King's territory) and to protect your trade. It was not till after his defeat, that the Colonies were attacked. They were before in perfect peace with both French and Indians; the troops were not, therefore, sent for their defence.

The trade with the Indians, though carried on in America, is not an American interest. The people of America are chiefly farmers and planters; scarce any thing that they raise or produce is an article of commerce with the Indians. The Indian trade is a British interest; it is carried on with British manufactures, for the profit of British merchants and manufacturers; therefore the war, as it cōmmenced for the defence of territories of the Crown the property of no American, and for the defence of a trade purely British, was really a British war, and yet the people of America made no scruple of contributing their utmost towards carrying it on, and bringing it to a happy conclusion.

Q. Do you think, then, that the taking possession of the King's territorial rights, and strengthening the frontiers, is not an American interest?

A. Not particularly, but conjointly a British and an American interest.

Q. You will not deny, that the preceding war, the war with Spain, was entered into for the sake of America; was it not occasioned by captures made in the American seas?

A. Yes; captures of ships carrying on the British trade there with British manufactures.

Q. Was not the late war with the Indians, since the peace with France, a war for America only?

A. Yes; it was more particularly for America than the former; but was rather a consequence or remains of the former war, the Indians not having been thoroughly pacified; and the Americans bore by much the greatest share of the expence. It was put an end to by the army under General Bouquet; there were not above 300 regulars in that army, and above 1000 Pennsylvanians.

Q. Is it not necessary to send troops to America, to defend the Americans against the Indians?

A. No, by no means; it never was necessary. They defended themselves when they were but a handful, and the Indians much more numerous. They continually gained ground, and have driven the Indians over the mountains, without any troops sent to their assistance from this country. And can it be thought necessary now to send troops for their defence from those diminished Indian tribes, when the Colonies are become so populous and so strong? There is not the least occasion for it; they are very able to defend themselves.

Q. Do you say there were not more than 300 regular troops employed in the late Indian war?

A. Not on the Ohio, or the frontiers of Pennsylvania, which was the chief part of the war that affected the Colonies. There were garrisons at Niagara, Fort Detroit, and those

remote posts kept for the sake of your trade; I did not reckon them; but I believe, that on the whole the number of Americans or provincial troops, employed in the war, was greater than that of the regulars. I am not certain, but I think so.

Q. Do you think the assemblies have a right to levy money on the subject there, to grant to the Crown?

A. I certainly think so; they have always done it.

Q. Are they acquainted with the declaration of rights? And do they know, that, by that statute, money is not to be raised on the subject but by consent of parliament?

A. They are very well acquainted with it.

Q. How then can they think they have a right to levy money for the Crown, or for any other than local purposes?

A. They understand that clause to relate to subjects only within the realm; that no money can be levied on them for the Crown, but by consent of parliament. The Colonies are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments, and they are, in that respect, in the same situation with Ireland. When money is to be raised for the Crown upon the subject in Ireland, or in the Colonies, the consent is given in the Parliament of Ireland, or in the assemblies of the Colonies. They think the parliament of Great-Britain cannot properly give that consent, till it has representatives from America; for the petition of right expressly says, it is to be by common consent in parliament; and the people of America have no representatives in parliament, to make a part of that common consent.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, and an act

should pass, ordering the assemblies of the Colonies to indemnify the sufferers by the riots, would they obey it?

A. That is a question I cannot answer.

Q. Suppose the King should require the Colonies to grant a revenue, and the parliament should be against their doing it, do they think they can grant a revenue to the King, without the consent of the parliament of Great-Britain?

A. That is a deep question. As to my own opinion, I should think myself at liberty to do it, and should do it, if I liked the occasion.

Q. When money has been raised in the Colonies, upon requisitions, has it not been granted to the King?

A. Yes, always; but the requisitions have generally been for some service expressed, as to raise, clothe, and pay troops, and not for money only.

Q. If the act should pass requiring the American assemblies to make compensation to the sufferers, and they should disobey it, and then the parliament should, by another act, lay an internal tax, would they then obey it?

A. The people will pay no internal tax; and I think an act to oblige the assemblies to make compensation is unnecessary; for I am of opinion, that, as soon as the present heats are abated, they will take the matter into consideration, and if it is right to be done, they will do it of themselves.

Q. Do not letters often come into the post-offices in America, directed to some inland town where no post goes?

A. Yes.

Q. Can any private person take up those letters, and carry them as directed?

A. Yes; any friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

Q. But must not he pay an additional postage for the distance to such inland town?

A. No.

Q. Can the post-master answer delivering the letter, without being paid such additional postage?

A. Certainly he can demand nothing, where he does no service.

Q. Suppose a person, being far from home, finds a letter in a post-office directed to him, and he lives in a place to which the post generally goes, and the letter is directed to that place; will the post-master deliver him the letter, without his paying the postage receivable at the place to which the letter is directed?

A. Yes; the office cannot demand postage for a letter that it does not carry, or farther than it does carry it.

Q. Are not ferry men in America obliged, by act of parliament, to carry over the posts without pay?

A. Yes.

Q. Is not this a tax on the ferry-men?

A. They do not consider it as such, as they have an advantage from persons travelling with the post.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, and the Crown should make a requisition to the Colonies for a sum of money, would they grant it?

A. I believe they would.

Q. Why do you think so?

A. I can speak for the Colony I live in; I had it in instruction from the assembly to assure the ministry, that, as they always had done, so they should always think it their duty, to

grant such aids to the Crown as were suitable to their circumstances and abilities, whenever called upon for that purpose, in the usual constitutional manner; and I had the honour of communicating this instruction to that honourable gentleman then minister.

Q. Would they do this for a British concern, as suppose a war in some part of Europe, that did not affect them?

A. Yes, for any thing that concerned the general interest. They consider themselves a part of the whole.

Q. What is the usual constitutional manner of calling on the Colonies for aids?

A. A letter from the secretary of state.

Q. Is this all you mean; a letter from the secretary of state?

A. I mean the usual way of requisition, in a circular letter from the secretary of state, by his Majesty's command, reciting the occasion, and recommending it to the Colonies to grant such aids as became their loyalty, and were suitable to their abilities.

Q. Did the secretary of state ever write for money for the Crown?

A. The requisitions have been to raise, clothe, and pay men, which cannot be done without money.

Q. Would they grant money alone, if called on?

A. In my opinion they would, money as well as men, when they have money, or can make it.

Q. If the parliament should repeal the stamp act, will the assembly of Pennsylvania rescind their resolutions?

A. I think not.

Q. Before there was any thought of the stamp act, did they wish for a representation in parliament?

A. No.

Q. Don't you know, that there is, in the Pennsylvania charter, an express reservation of the right of parliament to lay taxes there?

A. I know there is a clause in the charter, by which the King grants, that he will levy no taxes on the inhabitants, unless it be with the consent of the assembly, or by act of parliament.

Q. How, then, could the assembly of Pennsylvania assert, that laying a tax on them by the stamp act was an infringement of their rights?

A. They understand it thus; by the same charter, and otherwise, they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen; they find in the great charters, and the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not to be taxed but by their common consent; they have therefore relied upon it, from the first settlement of the province, that the parliament never would, nor could, by colour of that clause in the charter, assume a right of taxing them, till it had qualified itself to exercise such right, by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed, who ought to make a part of that common consent.

Q. Are there any words in the charter that justify that construction?

A. "The common rights of Englishmen," as declared by Magna Charta, and the petition of right, all justify it.

Q. Does the distinction between internal and external taxes exist in the words of the charter?

A. No, I believe not.

Q. Then, may they not, by the same interpretation, object to the parliament's right of external taxation?

A. They never have hitherto. Many arguments have been lately used here to shew them, that there is no difference, and that, if you have no right to tax them internally, you have none to tax them externally, or make any other law to bind them. At present they do not reason so; but in time they may possibly be convinced by these arguments.

Q. Do not the resolutions of the Pennsylvania assembly say, all taxes?

A. If they do, they mean only internal taxes; the same words have not always the same meaning here and in the Colonies. By taxes, they mean internal taxes; by duties, they mean customs; these are their ideas of the language.

Q. Have you not seen the resolutions of the Massachuset's Bay assembly?

A. I have.

Q. Do they not say, that neither external nor internal taxes can be laid on them by parliament?

A. I don't know that they do; I believe not.

Q. If the same Colony should say neither tax nor imposition could be laid, does not that province hold the power of parliament can lay neither?

A. I suppose, that, by the word imposition, they do not intend to express duties to be laid on goods imported, as regulations of commerce.

Q. What can the Colonies mean then by imposition, as distinct from taxes?

A. They may mean many things, as impressing of men or of carriages, quartering troops on private houses, and the like; there may be great impositions that are not properly taxes.

Q. Is not the post-office rate an internal tax laid by act of parliament?

A. I have answered that.

Q. Are all parts of the Colonies equally able to pay taxes?

A. No, certainly; the frontier parts, which have been ravaged by the enemy, are greatly disabled by that means; and therefore, in such cases, are usually favoured in our tax laws.

Q. Can we, at this distance, be competent judges of what favours are necessary?

A. The parliament have supposed it, by claiming a right to make tax-laws for America; I think it impossible.

Q. Would the repeal of the stamp act be any discouragement of your manufactures? Will the people that have begun to manufacture decline it?

A. Yes, I think they will; especially if, at the same time, the trade is opened again, so that remittances can be easily made. I have known several instances that make it probable. In the war before last, tobacco being low, and making little remittance, the people of Virginia went generally into family manufactures. Afterwards, when tobacco bore a better price, they returned to the use of British manufactures. So fulling-mills were very much disused in the last war in Pennsylvania, because bills were then plenty, and remittances could easily be made to Britain for English cloth and other goods.

Q. If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the rights of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?

A. No, never.

Q. Are there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?

A. None that I know of; they will never do it, unless compelled by force of arms.

Q. Is there a power on earth that can force them to erase them?

A. No power, how great soever, can force men to change their opinions.

Q. Do they consider the post-office as a tax, or as a regulation?

A. Not as a tax, but as a regulation and conveniency; every assembly encouraged it, and supported it in its infancy, by grants of money, which they would not otherwise have done; and the people have always paid the postage.

Q. When did you receive the instructions you mentioned?

A. I brought them with me, when I came to England, about 15 months since.

Q. When did you communicate that instruction to the minister?

A. Soon after my arrival, while the stamping of America was under consideration, and before the bill was brought in.

Q. Would it be most for the interest of Great Britain, to employ the hands of Virginia in tobacco, or in manufactures?

A. In tobacco, to be sure.

Q. What used to be the pride of the Americans?

A. To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

Q. What is now their pride?

A. To wear their old cloaths over again, till they can make new ones.

withdrew.

412. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, April 6, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD,

As the Stamp Act is at length repeal'd, I am willing you should have a new Gown, which you may suppose I did not send sooner, as I knew you would not like to be finer than your Neighbours, unless in a Gown of your own Spinning. Had the Trade between the two Countries totally ceas'd, it was a Comfort to me to recollect, that I had once been cloth'd from Head to Foot in Woollen and Linnen of my Wife's Manufacture, that I never was prouder of any Dress in my Life, and that she and her Daughter might do it again if it was necessary. I told the Parliament, that it was my Opinion, before the old Cloaths of the Americans were worn out, they might have new ones of their own making. And indeed if they had all as many old Cloathes as your old Man has, that would not be very unlikely, for I think you and George reckon'd when I was last at home at least 20 pair of old Breeches. Joking apart, I have sent you a fine Piece of Pompadour Sattin, 14 Yards, cost 11 shillings a Yard; a silk *Negligee* and Petticoat of brocaded Lutestring for my dear Sally, with two dozen Gloves, 4 Bottles of Lavender Water, and two little Reels. The Reels are to screw on the Edge of a Table, when she would wind Silk or Thread. The Skein is to be put over them, and winds better than if held in two Hands. There is also an Ivory Knob to each, to which she may with a Bit of Silk Cord hang a Pinhook to fasten her plain work to, like the Hooks on her weight. I send you also Lace for two Lappet Caps, 3 Ells of Cambrick (the Cambrick by Mr. Yates) 3 Damask Table Cloths, a Piece of

Crimson Morir for Curtains with Tassels, Line and Binding. A large true Turkey Carpet cost 10 Guineas, for the Dining Parlour. Some oil'd Silk; and a Gimcrack Corkscrew, which you must get some Brother Gimcrack to show you the Use of. In the Chest is a Parcel of Books for my Friend Mr. Coleman, and another for Cousin Colbert. Pray did he receive those I sent him before? I send you also a Box with three fine Cheeses. Perhaps a Bit of them may be left when I come home. Mrs. Stevenson has been very diligent and serviceable in getting these things together for you, and presents her best Respects, as does her Daughter, to both you and Sally. There are too boxes included in your Bill of Lading for Billy.

I received your kind Letter of Feb. 20. It gives me great Pleasure to hear, that our good old friend Mrs. Smith is on the Recovery. I hope she has yet many happy years to live. My Love to her. I fear, from the Account you give of brother Peter, that he cannot hold it long. If it should please God, that he leaves us before my Return, I would have the PostOffice remain under the Management of their Son, till Mr. Foxcroft and I agree how to settle it.[1]

There are some Droll Prints in the Box, which were given me by the Painter, and, being sent when I was not at home, were pack'd up without my Knowledge. I think he was wrong to put in Lord Bute, who had nothing to do with the Stamp Act. But it is the Fashion here to abuse that Nobleman, as the Author of all Mischief. . . . I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate husband, B. FRANKLIN.

[1] Peter Franklin, the last surviving brother of Dr. Franklin, died July 1st, 1766, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He had formerly resided at Newport, Rhode Island; but, at the time of his death, he was deputy postmaster in Philadelphia. — S.

413. TO THOMAS RONAYNE[1]

London, April 20, 1766.

SIR,

I have received your very obliging and very ingenious letter by Captain Kearney. Your observations upon the electricity of fogs and the air in Ireland, and upon different circumstances of storms, appear to me very curious, and I thank you for them. There is not, in my opinion, any part of the earth whatever which is, or can be, naturally in a state of negative electricity; and, though different circumstances may occasion an inequality in the distribution of the fluid, the equilibrium is immediately restored by means of its extreme subtilty, and of the excellent conductors with which the humid earth is amply provided. I am of opinion, however, that when a cloud, well charged positively, passes near the earth, it repels and forces down into the earth that natural portion of electricity, which exists near its surface, and in buildings, trees, &c., so as actually to reduce them to a negative state before it strikes them. I am of opinion, too, that the negative state in which you have frequently found the balls, which are suspended from your apparatus, is not always occasioned by clouds in a negative state; but more commonly by clouds positively electrified, which have passed over them, and which in their passage have repelled and driven off a part of the electrical matter, which naturally existed in the apparatus; so that, what remained after the passing of the clouds diffusing itself uniformly through the apparatus, the whole became reduced to a negative state.

If you have read my experiments made in continuation

[1] From M. Dubourg's edition of Franklin's works; Tome I, p. 265. Ronayne was one of a family of glass manufacturers at Cork. — ED.

of those of Mr. Canton, you will readily understand this; but you may easily make a few experiments, which will clearly demonstrate it. Let a common glass be warmed before the fire, that it may continue very dry for some time; set it upon a table, and place upon it the small box made use of by Mr. Canton, so that the balls may hang a little beyond the edge of the table. Rub another glass, which has previously been warmed in a similar manner, with a piece of black silk, or a silk handkerchief, in order to electrify it. Hold then the glass above the little box, at about the distance of three or four inches from that part, which is most distant from the balls; and you will see the balls separate from each other; being positively electrified by the natural portion of electricity, which was in the box, and which is driven to the further part of it by the repulsive power of the atmosphere in the excited glass. Touch the box near the little balls (the excited glass continuing in the same state) and the balls will again unite; the quantity of electricity which had been driven to this part being drawn off by your finger. Withdraw then both your finger and the glass, at the same instant, and the quantity of electricity which remained in the box, uniformly diffusing itself, the balls will again be separated, being now in a negative state. While things are in this situation, begin once more to excite your glass, and hold it above the box, but not too near, and you will find, that, when it is brought within a certain distance, the balls will at first approach each other, being then in a natural state. In proportion as the glass is brought nearer, they will again separate, being positive. When the glass is moved beyond them, and at some little farther distance, they will unite again, being in a natural state. When it is entirely removed,

they will separate again, being then made negative. The excited glass in this experiment may represent a cloud positively charged, which you see is capable of producing in this manner all the different changes in the apparatus, without the least necessity for supposing any negative cloud.

I am nevertheless fully convinced, that there are negative clouds; because they sometimes absorb, through the medium of the apparatus, the positive electricity of a large jar, the hundredth part of which the apparatus itself would have not been able to receive or contain at once. In fact, it is not difficult to conceive that a large cloud, highly charged positively, may reduce smaller clouds to a negative state, when it passes above or near them, by forcing a part of their natural portion of the fluid either to their inferior surfaces, whence it may strike into the earth, or to the opposite side, whence it may strike into the adjacent clouds; so that, when the large cloud has passed off to a distance, the small clouds shall remain in a negative state, exactly like the apparatus; the former (like the latter) being frequently insulated bodies, having communication neither with the earth nor with other clouds. Upon the same principle it may easily be conceived in what manner a large negative cloud may render others positive.

The experiment, which you mention, of filing your glass is analogous to one which I made in 1751, or 1752. I had supposed in my preceding letters, that the pores of glass were smaller in the interior parts than near the surface, and that on this account they prevented the passage of the electrical fluid. To prove whether this was actually the case or not, I ground one of my phials in a part where it was extremely thin, grinding it considerably beyond the middle,

and very near to the opposite superficies, as I found, upon breaking it after the experiment. It was charged nevertheless after being ground, equally well as before, which convinced me, that my hypothesis on this subject was erroneous. It is difficult to conceive where the immense superfluous quantity of electricity on the charged side of a glass is deposited.

I send you my paper concerning Meteors, which was lately published here in the Philosophical Transactions, immediately after a paper by Mr. Hamilton on the same subject. I am, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

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414. TO JONATHAN WILLIAMS[1] (P. C.)

London, April 28, 1766

DEAR COUSIN

I have received several of your kind Favours since my Arrival in England, the last by your good Brother, the subject not in the least disagreable as you apprehend, but in Truth it has not been at all in my Power to do what you desired: if for no other reason, yet for this that there has been no Vacancy.

I congratulate you on the Repeal of that Mother of Mischief the Stamp Act, and on the Ease we are like to obtain in our Commerce. My time has been extreamly taken up, as you may imagine in these general Affairs of America, as well as in the particular one of our Province, yet I did not forget the Armonica, for Cousin Josiah: but with all my

[1] From the original in the possession of the Misses Bradford, of Philadelhia. — ED.

Endeavours I have not yet been able to procure one. There is only one Man that makes them well, his Price no less than 34 Guineas, asks 40. I bid him 100 Guineas for three, he refus'd it. I then agreed to give him the 34 Guineas for one. He promis'd to make it now a 12 month since, I have call'd on him often 'till I am tir'd, and do not find he has yet done a Glass of it. If I could have got this, Josiah should have had it or mine. But I fear it will not be got at all. And I hope his waiting till my Return, tho' it may seem long will be no disadvantage, as all his Improvement on the Organ in the mean time will go towards his better playing on the Armonica when he gets it.

I rejoice to hear of the Welfare and Increase of your Family. I pray God to bless them all and you, being Your affectionate Uncle,

B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. Sister Mecom speaks very affectionately of you, and gratefully of your Kindness to her in her late Troubles. The Bearer, Mr. Sears, is entering into Business as a Merchant here. He is a Friend of mine, and I recommend him to your Acquaintance and Civilities.

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415. TO CADWALLADER EVANS[1]

London, May 9, 1766.

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter of March 3d, and thank you for the intelligence and hints it contained. I wonder at the complaint you mention. I always considered writing to the

[1] Printed from Sparks.

Speaker as writing to the Committee. But if it is more to their satisfaction, that I should write to them jointly, it shall be done for the future.

My private opinion concerning a union in Parliament between the two countries is, that it would be best for the whole. But I think it will never be done. For though I believe, that, if we had no more representatives than Scotland has, we should be sufficiently strong in the House to prevent, as they do for Scotland, any thing ever passing to our disadvantage; yet we are not able at present to furnish and maintain such a number, and, when we are more able, we shall be less willing than we are now. The Parliament here do at present think too highly of themselves to admit representatives from us, if we should ask it; and, when they will be desirous of granting it, we shall think too highly of ourselves to accept of it. It would certainly contribute to the strength of the whole, if Ireland and all the dominions were united and consolidated under one common council for general purposes, each retaining its particular council or parliament for its domestic concerns. But this should have been more early provided for. In the infancy of our foreign establishments it was neglected, or was not thought of. And now the affair is nearly in the situation of Friar Bacon's project of making a brazen wall round England for its eternal security. His servant, Friar Bungey, slept while the brazen head, which was to dictate how it might be done, said *Time is*, and *Time was*. He only waked to hear it say, *Time is past*. An explosion followed, that tumbled their house about the conjuror's ears.

I hope, with you, that my being here at this juncture has been of some service to the colonies. I am sure I have spared no pains. And as to our particular affair, I am not in the

least doubtful of obtaining what we so justly desire, if we continue to desire it; though the late confused state of affairs on both sides of the water has delayed our proceeding. With great esteem, I am, dear friend, yours affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

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416. TO GIAMBATISTA BECCARIA [1]

London, May 29, 1766.

REVEREND SIR.

I have the pleasure to transmit to you herewith the thanks of our society for your most ingenious work on electricity [2] and permit me to add my own to them. It was communicated to me, according to your desire, before it was presented to the society, and I have heartily commended it as well meriting their attention. Before it is printed in the Transactions I desire to know if there are not some errors in that part of the table where you say:

Pili leporis accipiunt a tibiali albo *pauculum, e dopo;*

Tibiale album dat pilis leporis *plurimum, ed in seguito;*

[1] From "Memorie Istoriche intorno gli studi del Padre Giambatista Beccaria." Turin, 1783, p. 146. — ED.

[2] The work to which Franklin refers was entitled "Novorum quorumdam in re electrica experimentorum specimen, quod regiae Londinensi societati mittebat die 11 Januarii, anni 1766, Joannes Baptista Beccaria ex scholis piis," printed in folio by Fontana in Turin, and reprinted with some additions and illustrations in Volume LVI of the "Philosophical Transactions."

The "thanks" of the Royal Society, communicated by Franklin to Father Beccaria were framed as follows, "Viro ornatissimo, et φιλοσοφιχοτατω, Joanni Baptistae Beccariae ex scholis piis, et regiae societatis Londinensis socio C. Morton soc. reg. Londin. secret. et synedrus et academiar. imperial. Leopoldinae S. C. et Petropolitanae socius S.P.D.

"Elegans, et doctissimum opus tuum de aliquibus circa rem electricam experimentis Societati regiae Londinensi in comitiis suis ordinariis hodie recitatum fuit, quo nomine gratiae societatis tibi publicae statutae sunt. Datum ex aedibus societatis maii 1. 1766." — ED.

Tibiale album accipit a tibiali nigro *pauculum, quindi* Tibiale nigrum dat tibiali albo *plurimum.*[1]

If these are not errors in the writing, but agree with the facts, I should like to know from what circumstances of the experiments you believe it happens that in the alternate friction of those substances one of them does not give the same quantity, that the other receives.

I should have thanked you before this for the favour that you did me sometime ago in sending me your books on electricity and for the honourable mention in them that you have made of me. I assure you that no work that I have read on this subject has given me so much pleasure as these books. There is in press a new edition of my writings, with many additions; when it shall be finished I shall beg you to accept a copy of it. Included in it is a little article on meteorology, read sometime ago before the Society — but not as yet printed in the Transactions. Since I returned here from America in 1765 I have discovered a new thing in electricity: if a strong spark is made to pass in the dark near bodies that live by light (so I may express myself) these bodies shine brightly for some moments after. It is not necessary that the electric fire should traverse the body — a spark is sufficient which passes at a distance of 2 or 3 inches. I suppose that Bologna's Stone could be used for this experiment. We used an artificial composition of calcined oyster shells, burned with sulphur

[1] In the Turin edition and in *The Philosophical Transactions* these lines read: —

"Pili leporis accipiunt a tibiali albo pauculum.

"Tibiali album dat pilis leporis.

"Tibiali album accipit a tibiali nigro.

"Tibiali nigrum dat tibiali albo." — ED.

in a crucible. A spark of your "lightning table" would give a light of long duration. I send you a small piece of wood covered with a little of this composition made and given to me by Mr. Canton a member of our society. The discoverer of this electrical effect is Mr. Lane who has also invented a fine method by the means of a screw to give shocks exactly equal, with a certain determined force, for medical purposes. The bottle always discharging itself, when it has received the quantity of fire which will strike at the distance determined by the screw. I am pleased to hear that you read English although you do not write it. This is my case with the Italian. We can therefore correspond with greater facility, if it pleases you, each of us writing in his own language. In this way I will more frequently take occasion to express to you the great esteem and respect with which I am Reverend Sir

Your Most Ob. and Humble Servant

BENJ. FRANKLIN

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417. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, June 13, 1766.

MY DEAR CHILD,

Mrs. Stevenson has made up a Parcel of Haberdashery for you, which will go in Capt. Robinson. She will also send you another Cloak in the Room of that we suppose lost in Capt. Kerr. I wrote to you in Capt. Sparks that I had been very ill lately. I am now nearly well again, but feeble. To-morrow I set out with my Friend Dr. Pringle (now Sir John) on a Journey to Pyrmont, where he goes to drink the Waters; but I hope more from the Air and Exercise, having been us'd, as

you know, to have a Journey once a Year, the want of which last Year, has, I believe, hurt me, so that tho' I was not quite to say sick, I was often ailing last Winter, & thro' the Spring. We must be back at farthest in Eight Weeks, as my Fellow Traveller is the Queen's Physician, and has leave for no longer as she will then be near her Time. I purpose to leave him at Pyrmont, and visit some of the principal Cities nearest to it, and call for him again when the Time for our Return draws nigh. My Love to Sally &c. I am, my dear Debby, your affectionate Husband,

B. FRANKLIN.

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418. TO MRS. MARY FRANKLIN[1] (A. P. S.)

London, Augt 26, 1766.

DEAR SISTER: — It has pleased God at length to take from us my only remaining Brother, and your affectionate Husband, with whom you have lived in uninterrupted Harmony and Love near half a Century.

Considering the many Dangers & Hardships his Way of Life led him into, and the Weakness of his Constitution, it is wonderful that he lasted so long. It was God's Goodness that spared him to us. Let us, instead of repining at what we have lost, be thankful for what we have enjoyed.

Before this can reach you, everything that can be said to you by way of Consolation, will have been said to you by your Friends, or will have occurred to your own good Understanding. It is therefore needless for me to enlarge on that Head. But as you may be under some Apprehensions for your future Subsistence, I am desirous of making you as easy

[1] Relict of Peter Franklin. — ED.

and comfortable in that respect as I can. Your adopted Son, Mr. Brown, has wrote to me, very properly, "that he shall always think it his Duty to stand by and assist you to the utmost of his Power." He is yet young; but I hope he has Solidity enough to conduct a Printing House with Prudence and to Advantage. I shall, therefore, put one into his Hands, to be carried on in Partnership with you; and if he manages well, I shall hereafter farther encourage him. I have not time to write him now, but shall by the Packet. I have, however, desired my Wife to deliver to you and him the Press and Letters that were B. Mecom's, which Mr. Parker us'd at Burlington; and to let you go into the House where I suppose they are, as the Rent of that you are now in is heavy. I can now only add that I am, as ever,

Your affectionate Brother

B. FRANKLIN.

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419. TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON[1] (P. C.)

London, Sept. 12, 1766.

SIR

I am honoured with yours of the 10th of July, just come to hand, with that for Mr Secretary Conway under a flying Seal, which I have clos'd and forwarded. He is now in another Department, but it will go of course to Lord Shelbourne, who I think is rather more favourably dispos'd towards such Undertakings.

I have long been of Opinion that a well-conducted western Colony, if it could be settled with the Approbation of the Indians, would be of great National Advantage with respect

[1] From the original in the possession of Mr. Simon Gratz. — ED.

to the Trade, and particularly useful to the old Colonies as a Security to their Frontiers. I am glad to find that you, whose Knowledge of Indian affairs and the Temper of those People far exceeds mine, entertain the same Sentiments, and think such an Establishment in the Illinois Country practicable. I shall not fail to use my best Endeavours here in promoting it, and obtaining for that purpose the necessary Grants; and I am happy that this Occasion introduces me to the Correspondence of a Gentleman whose Character I have long esteemed, and to whom America is so much obliged.

It grieves me to hear that our Frontier People are yet greater Barbarians than the Indians, and continue to murder them in time of Peace. I hope your Negociations will prevent a new War, which those Murders give great Reason to apprehend; and that the several Governments will find some Method of preventing such horrid Outrages for the future.

With Sincere and great Regard I have the Honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient
& most humble Servant
B. FRANKLIN

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420. TO CHARLES THOMSON[1]

London, Sept. 27th 1766.

DEAR FRIEND AND NEIGHBOUR,

I received your very kind Letter of May 20th, which came here while I was absent in Germany. The favourable sentiments you express of my Conduct, with regard to repeal of the Stamp Act, give me real Pleasure; and I hope in every other

[1] From the original in the New York Historical Society. — ED.

matter of Publick concern, so to behave myself as to stand fair in the opinion of the wise and good, — what the rest think and say of me will then give me less concern —

That Part of your Letter, which relates to the situation of People's minds in America before and after the repeal, was so well exprest, and in my Opinion so proper to be generally read and understood here, that I had it printed in the *London Chronicle*. I had the Pleasure to find, that it did good in several instances within my Knowledge.

There are Claimers [enough] of Merits in obtaining the Repeal. But, if I live to see you, I will let you know what an Escape we had in the beginning of the Affair, and how much we were obliged to what the Profane would call *luck* and the pious *Providence*.

You will give an old man leave to say, My Love to Mrs. Thomson. With sincere regard, I am your affectionate Friend, B. FRANKLIN.

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421. TO AN UNKNOWN CORRESPONDENT

(A. P. S.)

Cr. Street, London, Oct. 4. 1766.

REV[d] SIR,

Since my Return from abroad I have been inform'd of your good Purpose to dispose of the Profits of One Thousand Pounds in the Instruction of Negro Children in America; and I am desired by the Associates [1] to give you some account of the Nature of landed estates in America of the Value of One Thousand Pounds & to apply the Rents and Profits thereof to the Support of Schools for the Instruction of Negro

[1] Society of the Friends of Dr. Bray. — ED.

Children. And I have been desired by the Associates to consider the Matter, and give my Opinion where & in what Manner the Purchase may best be made. I do accordingly acquaint you, that I think the best Province to make the Purchase in is Pennsylvania, where Titles are generally clear; and that it would be well to impower three Persons in Philadelphia to purchase Ground Rents within that City and other safe & profitable Estate in or near the same, as Bargains may offer, in Trust for the Purposes you mention; drawing for the Money here from time to time as the Purchases are made; the Money remaining at Interest here till so drawn for. And the Rents as receiv'd by such Trustees to be applied as you direct. Any farther Advice or Assistance that I can give in the Choice of Trustees or otherwise, shall not be wanting: being respectfully,

Revd Sir,

Your most obed^t^
humble Servt
B. F.

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422. TO MRS. DEBORAH FRANKLIN (A. P. S.)

London, Oct. 11, 1766.

My dear Child,

I received your kind little Letter of August 26, by the Packet. Scarce any one else wrote to me by that Opportunity. I suppose they imagin'd I should not be return'd from Germany. . . . Pray did you ever get the Letters and Cambrick I sent you by Mr. Yates? You told me he had lost them, but hop'd to find them again. You do not say in any of your subsequent Letters whether he found them, or whether our generous Adversaries have got them,

and keep them for their own Amusement, as you know they did some of my former. I wish you would always mention the Dates of the Letters you receive from me; for then, as I generally keep Copies, I should know what get to hand, and what miscarry.

I grieve for the loss of dear Miss Ross. She was indeed an amiable Girl. It must be a great Affliction to her Parents and Friends. In my last I desired you to get Mr. Rhoads to send me a little Sketch of the Lot and Wall; but I have since found one he sent me before; so it is not necessary; only tell me whether it takes in Part of the late controverted Lot, and how high it comes on both sides, and whereabouts the Wall is. By the way, you never have told me what the Award was. I wish I could see a Copy of it.

There are but two Franklins remaining in England, descended from my Grandfather; to wit, my Uncle John's grandson, Thomas Franklin, who is a Dyer at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, and has a Daughter about 13 years of age, named Sally. He brought her to town to see me in the Spring, and Mrs. Stevenson persuaded him to leave the Child under her care for a little Schooling and Improvement, while I went abroad. When I return'd, I found her indeed much improv'd, and grown a fine Girl. She is sensible, and of a sweet, obliging Temper, but is now ill of a violent Fever, and I doubt we shall lose her, which particularly afflicts Mrs. Stevenson, not only as she has contracted a great Affection for the Child, but as it was she that persuaded her Father to leave her here. Mrs. Stevenson presents her best Respects. Polly is gone home to her Aunt's at Kensington. My love to our Children and all enquiring Friends. I am your ever loving Husband, B. FRANKLIN.

P. S. I must request you to procure of some Friend of ours, a Copy of our Fire Company Articles, and a Copy of the Insurance Articles, and send them as soon as you can to Irenæus Moe, Esq[e] at Barbadoes, Bridgetown.

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423. TO MRS. ANN PENN[1] (P. C.)

London, Nov. 20, 1766.

DEAR MADAM,

I received yours of the eleventh Instant, and condole with you most sincerely on the loss of your Son[2]—my amiable young friend.

It must have been a heavy loss to you; For he was truly a good Child; His last Will is only the last Instance of the affectionate dutiful Regard he always paid you, and of a peace with the rest. I waive the common Topics of Consolation used on such Occasions. I knew that to a Person of your good Understanding they must all have occurred of them selves and I know besides by Experience, that the best Remedy for Grief is Time.

I shall as you desire transmit the Account and Copy of the Will to Mr. Pennington. The Power of Attorney you send him must be acknowledged, or proved before the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and should be drawn with an express Clause enabling him to Sell Land; in other respects the common form is sufficient. The Will should be a Certified Copy from the Office where wills are recorded. If in

[1] From the original in the possession of Miss Frances M. F. Donnel, of Sunbury, Pennsylvania. Ann Penn (née Vaux) was widow of William Penn, 3d, of Shamagarry, Ireland. — ED.

[2] Springett Penn. — ED.

anything there or here I can do you acceptable service, it will be a Pleasure to Receive your Commands; being with great Esteem & Respect

Dear Madam,

Your most obedient Humble Servant

B. FRANKLIN.

424. REMARKS

ON

THE PLAN FOR REGULATING THE INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Written at the Request of Lord S[helburne].[1] (L. C.)

THE Regulations in this Plan seem to me to be in general very good; but some few appear to want Explanation, or farther Consideration.

Clause 3. Is it intended by this Clause to prevent the Trade that Indians, living near the Frontiers, may chuse to carry on with the Inhabitants, by bringing their Skins into the Settlements? This Prevention is hardly practicable; as such Trade may be carried on in many Places out of the Observation of Government, the Frontier being of great Extent, and the Inhabitants thinly settled in the Woods, and remote from each other. The Indians, too, do not everywhere live in Towns sufficiently numerous to encourage Traders to reside among them; but in scattered Families,

[1] The exact date of the "Remarks" is unknown, but the Plan remarked upon was under the consideration of the Ministry before the close of 1766. See letter to Sir William Johnson, Sept. 12, 1766. I have printed from an auto. draft in L. C. The "Plan" will be found in Penn[a] Archives, Phila., 1853, 4, 182 et seq. — ED.

here and there, often shifting their Situation for the sake of better Hunting; and if they are near the English Settlements, it would seem to them very hard to be obliged to carry their Skins for sale to remote Towns or Posts, when they could dispose of them to their Neighbours, with less Trouble and to greater Advantage; as the goods they want for them, are and must be dearer at such remote Posts.

4. Those Laws [the colony "laws for regulating Indian affairs or commerce"] are the result of long Experience, made by People on the Spot, interested to make them good; and it seems they should be well considered before they are repealed, to make way for new and untried Schemes.

By whom are they to be repealed? By the Colony Assemblies, or by Parliament? Some Difficulty will arise here.

13. The Districts seem too large for this. The Indians under the Care of the Northern Superintendent, border on the Colonies of N. Scotia ,Quebec, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia; the superintendent's Residence, remote from several of these, may occasion great Inconvenience, if his Consent is always to be necessary in such Cases.

14. This seems too much to be done, when the Vastness of the District is considered. If there were more districts and smaller, this might be more practicable.

15 and 16. Are these Agents or Commissaries to try Causes where Life is concerned? Would it not be better to send the Criminals into some civil Government for Trial, where good Juries can be had?

18. "Chief for the whole Tribe who shall constantly reside with the Commissary," &c. Provision must then be

made for his Maintenance, as particular Indians have no Estates, but live by Hunting; and their Public has no Funds. Being us'd to Rambling, it would perhaps not be easy to find one, who would be oblig'd to this constant Residence.

22. If the Agent and his Deputies, and the Commissaries, are not to trade, should it not be a Part of their Oath, that they will have no Concern in such Trade, directly or indirectly? Private Agreements between them and the Traders, for Share of Profits, should be guarded against; and the same between them and the Purchasers of Lands from Indians.

31. —— "or trading at any other Post," &c. This should be so express'd, as to make the Master liable for the offence of the Servant; otherwise it will have no Effect.

33. I doubt the Settling such Tariffs will be a matter of Difficulty. There may be Differences of Fineness, Goodness, and Value, in the Goods of different Traders, and the like in the Peltry of different Indians that cannot be properly allow'd for by general Tariffs. It seems contrary to the Nature of Commerce, for Government to interfere in the Prices of Commodities. Trade is a voluntary Thing between Buyer and Seller, in every Article of which each exercises his own Judgment, and is to please himself. Suppose either trader or Indian is dissatisfied with the Tariff, and refuses barter on those Terms; are the Refusers to be compell'd? If not, why should an Indian be forbidden to take more Goods for his Skins than your Tariff allows, if the Trader is willing to give them; or a Trader more Skins for his Goods, if the Indian is willing to give them? Where there are a number of different Traders, the separate desire of each to get more Custom will operate in bringing their

goods down to a reasonable Price. It therefore seems to me, that Trade will best find and make its own Rates; and that Government cannot well interfere, unless it would take the whole Trade into its own hands (as in some Colonies it does), and manage it by its own Servants, at its own Risque.

38. I apprehend, that if the Indians cannot get Rum of fair Traders, it will be a great Means of defeating all these Regulations that direct the Trade to be carried on at certain Posts. The Country and Forests are so very large, it is impossible to guard every Part, so as to prevent unlicens'd Traders drawing the Indians and the Trade to themselves, by Rum and other spirituous Liquors, which all savage People are so fond of. I think they will generally trade where they can get Rum, preferably to where it is refus'd them; and the propos'd Prohibition will therefore be a great Encouragement to unlicens'd Traders, and promote such Trade. If the Commissaries, or Officers at the Posts, can prevent the Selling of Rum during the Barter for other Goods, and until the Indians are about going away, it is perhaps all that is practicable or necessary. The missionaries will, among other things, endeavour to prevail with them to live soberly and avoid Drunkenness.

39. The Indian Trade, so far as Credit is concerned, has hitherto been carried on wholly upon Honour. They have among themselves no such Thing as Prisons or Confinement for Debt. This Article seems to imply, that an Indian may be compelled by Law to pay a Debt of 50 [shillings] or under. Our legal Method of Compulsion is by Imprisonment. The Indians cannot and will not imprison one another; and, if we attempt to imprison them, I apprehend it would be generally dislik'd by the Nations,

and occasion Breaches. They have such high Ideas of Personal Liberty, and such slight ones of the Value of Personal Property, that they would think the Disproportion monstrous between the Liberty of a Man and a Debt of a few Shillings; and that it would be excessively inequitable and unjust, to take away the one for a Default in Payment of the other. It seems to me, therefore, best to leave that Matter on its present Footing; the Debts under 50 [shillings] as irrecoverable by Law, as this Article proposes for the Debts above 50 [shillings]. Debts of Honour are generally as well paid as other Debts. Where no Compulsion can be used, it is more Disgraceful to be dishonest. If the Trader thinks his Risque greater in trusting any particular Indian, he will either not do it, or proportion his Price to his Risque.

44. As the Goods for Indian Trade all come from England, and the Peltry is chiefly brought to England, perhaps it will be best to lay the Duty here, on the Exportation of the one, and the Importation of the other; to avoid meddling with the Question of the Right to lay Duties in America by Parliament here.

If it be thought proper to carry this Plan into Execution, would it not be well to try it first in a few Posts, to which the present Colony Laws for regulating Indian Trade do not reach; that by Experience its Defects may be discovered and amended, before it is made general, and those Laws repealed to make way for it? If the Indians find by Experience, that they are better us'd in their Trade at the Posts under these Regulations, than at other Places, may it not make them desirous of having the Regulations extended to other Places; and, when extended, better satisfy'd with them upon Reflection and Comparison?

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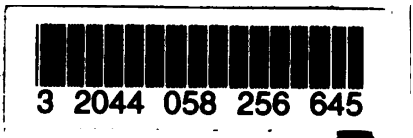

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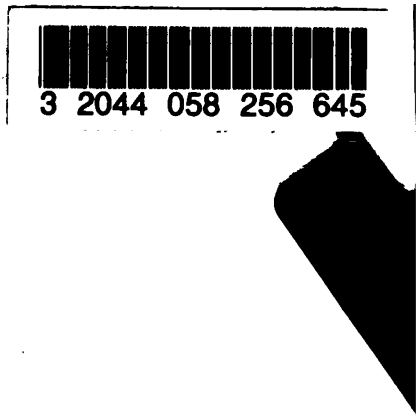
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